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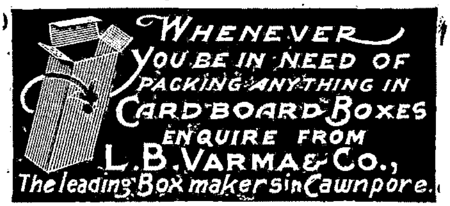

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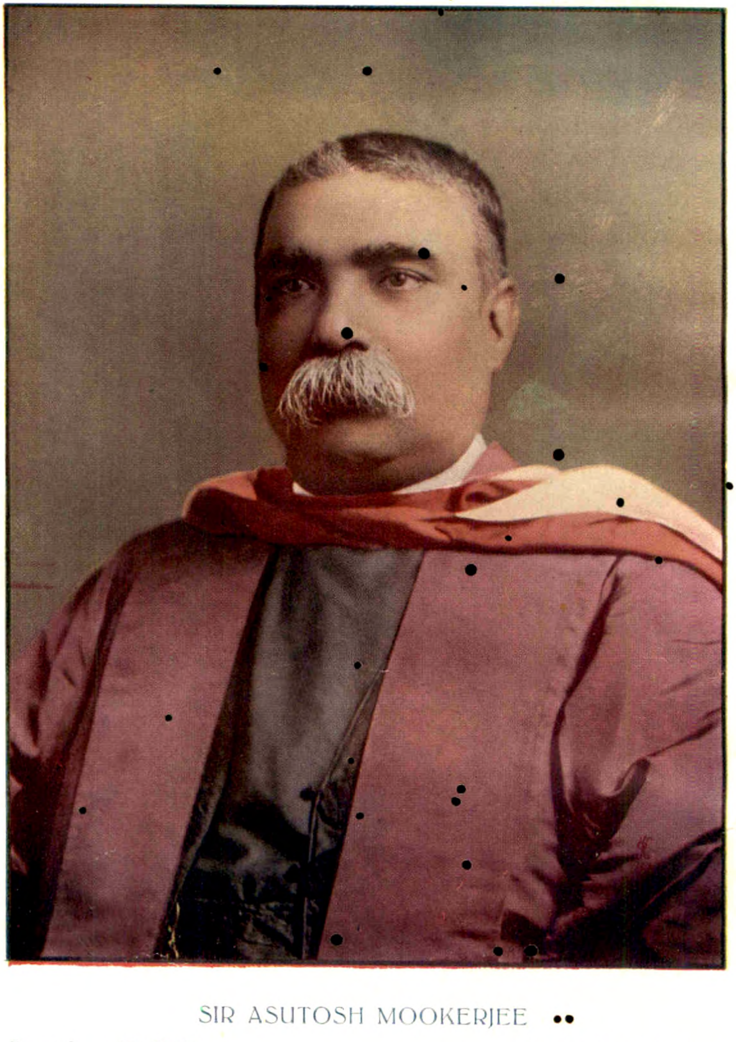


SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

Born June 29, 1864 Died May 25, 1924

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JULY, 1924

THE GREAT DEPARTED[1]

I

Hushed silence fell, and the sad land was weeping
Through halls of learning rang a trembling sigh.
And Genius, on Eastern watch-tower keeping
His now lone vigil, scanned the vaulted sky,
And sadly sought in vain through mists of tears
That one flame planet that through many years
Lighted the way to consecrated shrines,
Where wisdom proudly her green tendrils twines.

II

And lo, the muses came, and their lips trembled
Veiled they their brows as in hushed awe they tread.
All sorrowing and weeping they assembled
While ran the dreaded murmur,—" He is dead,
He whose strong hand kept our fair altars bright,
Held high the glowing torch that shed the light
Of art of science o'er the country wide."
And stood they long in silence side by side.

---

[1] Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I., D.L., D.Sc., Ph.D.

III

Then Science spake, her silver veil she lifted
While glitt'ring tears clouded her brilliant eye,—
"A woe is me, for his great soul has drifted
Away, away,—and darkling hangs the sky.
No more in undimmed brilliance shines that star
That sent its light glowing unrivalled—far
Over the sea, where still my tossing bark
Struggles mid reef and shoal,—my sky is dark."

IV

And Poetry, the gentlest of the Muses,
Whose subtle strains ever become more fair
When silver dew of sadness fondly fuses
Its mellow lustre with her vibrant air,
Spake softly trembling,—"Ah, he did depart,
Whose noble hand fostered my tender art;
The kind protector of my soul is dead,
My lyre lies broken, and my song has fled."

V

And Law, the strong-browed, the calm, the discerning
Stood like a pillar, rigid, still and white,
And spake she,—"He is dead, whose mighty learning
Did never fail him to know wrong from right.
Who on the judgment seat took his strong stand,
And held the scales with firm unshaking hand;
But, ah, too soon he left, his labour done,
I search and find him not,—my noblest son."

VI

Thus stood they sorrowing, their faces bending,
When, lo, a voice spake from an unkown height,
A star appeared, first pale, then bright, transcending,
And soon surrounded them with golden light.

Spake the voice softly,—"Upward bend the face,
And there behold the pole-star of your race.
Mourn him no more, for his great soul has flown
Among the mighty dead to find its own."

VII

And they beheld conclave of glorious sages
In star-lit splendour on empyrean height
A mighty band, who through unnumbered ages
Rule o'er the restless planets in their flight,
Whence, when the world does need them, they take birth,
To live and labour among men on earth,
And take as vanguard of the race their stand
Guiding the masses with unshaking hand."

VIII

And saw they welling up a crystal fountain,
Whose lucid stream in channels downward flowed,
Saw rugged steps leading to snow-capped mountain
And saw afar a broad extending road,
On it walked many, who beheld the stream
Of crystal whiteness in the distance gleam.
All eagerly pressed on to get their store
Of its pure liquid. Spake the voice once more,—

IX

"He cut those steps with pain and aspirations
Nor let endeavour to obstruction yield,
To make a path for future generations
That they might climb to virgin, star-lit fields.
Drew water of pure learning from the skies,
Showed men the way to labour and to rise,
The broad road for the many, for the few
The steps to summit bathed in sun-lit dew.

X

"Then weep no more over the Great Departed,
Whose mighty soul returned unto its own,—
The strong, the just, the kind, the Lion-hearted.
But foster ye the seeds that he has sown,
Keep green those verdant pasture where he wrought
The edifices of his tow'ring thought,
And feed the altar-fires, fan on the flame
That ever burn round his immortal name."

XI

Then felt they a strong heav'n-born inspiration
Infuse new strength into their blood again,
And stepped they forth the living incarnation
Of hope and strength that masters fear and pain,
Stepped forth, took up anew the harp of life,
Entered anew upon that noble strife,
Where strength, endeavour, hope and faith combine
Upon the road that leads to wisdom's shrine.

XII

Then mourn him not, oh land, his mighty spirit
Found fairer shores, and still from there he gives
His strength, his faith, that ye may them inherit,
Mourn not the Great Departed, for he lives,—
On those fair heights amid that glorious band,
Who ever guide and help the struggling land,
There seek and find him in his mighty place
Among the Guardian Spirits of the race.

A. CHRISTINA ALBERS

A GREAT INDIAN—SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

In Sir Asutosh Mookerjee India has lost one of her greatest men: the world one of its commanding personalities. He was mighty in battle. He could have ruled an Empire. But he gave the best of his powers to Education because he believed that in Education rightly interpreted lies the secret of human welfare and the key to every empire's moral strength. He said in one of his last public utterances, "The waste of fine human material involved in the present system is appalling when we remember that society stands in need of captains in the conflict between knowledge and ignorance, between charity and selfishness, between religion and unbelief, between virtue and sin, between liberty and oppression." He had a passion for Freedom. But he feared and hated Anarchy.

He was a born leader of men. Especially was he a leader of young men. He had a natural sympathy with the young. His aim was to guide the rising generation between the two pitfalls—obsequiousness and intransigence.

He was the spiritual heir of Mr. Gokhale, another guide of young men and servant of Education. But the man whom he more truly resembled, as well in physical vigour as in moral courage, was the American patriot Booker Washington.

Sir Asutosh was called the "Bengal Tiger." This was a misnomer. If he is to be compared to one of the noble animals, it is to the British bull-dog. Certainly, he had the bull-dog's fidelity to his friends, the bull-dog's sensitiveness of feeling and iron tenacity of will.

He had a strong sense of humour and a memorable laugh. The quickness with which he assimilated new idioms and nuances of English style showed the sensibility of his nature; his readiness to follow every point in an argument sprang from his power of swift apprehension. Few men have ever written so faultlessly in a language not their mother tongue.

He was brave and independent in mind. He truckled to no man.

In Sir Asutosh Hindu tradition and western culture were combined. The foundation of his character was religious, not political. His tenderness for home, his veneration for his mother's memory, his family affection sprang from the depth of his nature and from inner piety. Himself a devout Hindu, he respected the convictions and the worship of men and women of other faiths. He was a man of sensibility and also a man at arms.*

MICHAEL SADLER

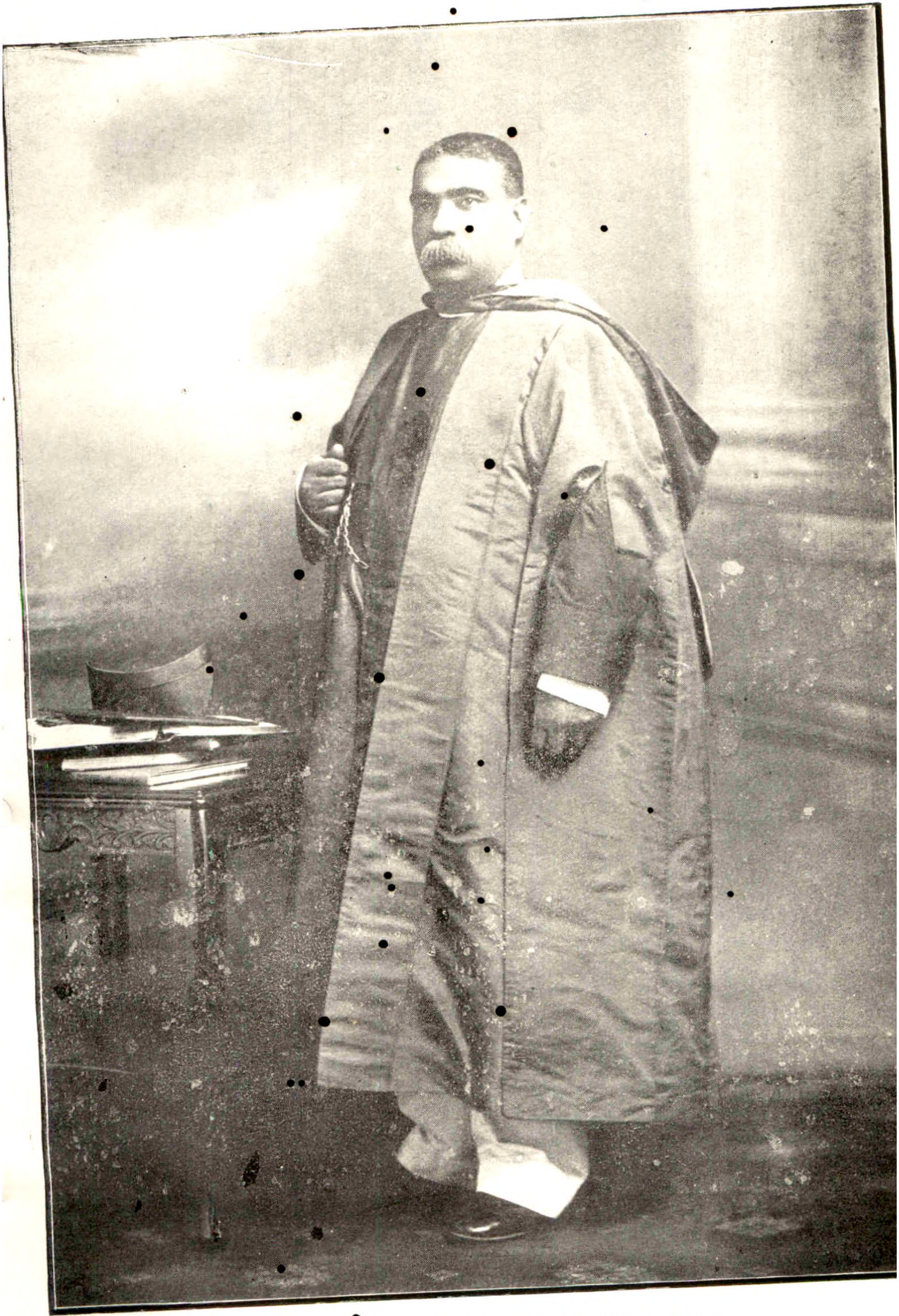
---

* Based upon a speech delivered in London soon after the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

The sudden death of Sir. Asutosh Mookerjee is a loss to Bengal about which I can hardly trust myself to write. Apart from the close connections in public affairs—whether as members of the Board of Accounts of the Calcutta University or as co-Trustees of the Board of Indian Museum or as colleagues on the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—there had subsisted between Sir Asutosh and myself a close personal friendship for about twenty years which no differences of opinion in matters connected either with the University or with other public affairs were allowed to lessen or impair. My highest esteem and regard for him remained unaltered. While I mourn his loss personally as that of a valued friend, Bengal mourns him deeply for in him she has lost one of her greatest sons—one who brought lustre to the intellectual capacities of her race and made her name respected in the eyes of the scholarly world. A man full of the vitality of life and possessed of a wonderful capacity for work, a clear and well-arranged mind, immense industry and an intuitive logical faculty—these gifts are the possession of few chosen mortals. His onerous duties as one of the senior and most distinguished judges of the High Court did not deter him from devoting his scanty leisure to solving the administrative problems connected with the University. Fearless in judgment, Sir Asutosh stood for independence of mind and of character. "*The character of his power was the power of his character.*" In whatever sphere of life he moved he gave a new impetus and a fresh vigour to the cause. A strenuous fighter all his life, he left behind him few resentments. The eloquent tribute paid by His Excellency Lord Lytton on the occasion of the gathering of the Senators of the Calcutta University, met to express their sense of great loss, epitomises the man that was Sir Asutosh. Nothing remains but a cherished memory of a manly, vigorous and fearless personality endowed with gifts of head and heart—a memory of one who worked for the University with a singleness of purpose and an intensity of devotion which no other Vice-Chancellor will ever be able to show. I cannot think of a higher tribute than of creating a substantial endowment fund for the Post-Graduate Department of the University with which Sir Asutosh was so intimately associated.

R. N. MOOKERJEE



SIR ASUTOSH AS VICE-CHANCELLOR, 1914

INDIA'S INTELLECTUAL GIANT

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's death is felt as a great national loss in this part of the country also and Bombay offers her sincere sympathy to Bengal on the death of her most distinguished son. He was not known much personally on this side as the Congress which brought leaders from various parts of the country together was closed to him as an official. But he was well known to all by his fame. I first heard of him as the author of a book on Geometrical Conics in 1894 and we students of Mathematics felt proud of our countryman on reading a reference to him in Edward's Differential Calculus as having found a geometrical interpretation of the complicated differential equation of the fifth order of the general conic. If Sir Asutosh had made up his mind to devote himself entirely to the study of Mathematics he is sure to have secured a place in the front rank of world mathematicians. But his genius was all-pervading and a look at the list of subjects on which he could speak with authority almost takes one's breath away. Such an intellectual giant has not been seen in India during the last hundred years.

The work that he did for the University of Calcutta is well known and will be spoken of by others but we have often wished there had been a Sir Asutosh in Bombay. A man of his driving power would have, with the well-known wealth and munificence of Bombay, raised Bombay University to even a higher pitch of glory than he did Calcutta. We can now hope only to follow the example of our sister University. The sturdy independence of the man was well exemplified by the famous letter he wrote to His Excellency Lord Lytton and the dogged opposition he made to Lord Curzon's Universities Bill in the Legislative Council in collaboration with the late Mr. Gokhale.

He came to our side with the Sadler Commission and visited Poona along with most of the members. He brought a large party with him to see Poona and he had put up at the Servants of India Society's Home here according to the arrangements made for him by the late Prof. H. G. Limaye and myself. We were struck with his simple ways and by the perfect want of side. He was good enough to express great admiration for the work we are doing in connection with the Fergusson College and to say that if any reflection were cast upon Indian capacity to manage educational institutions efficiently he would always throw the example of our college in the face of such detractors. He went carefully over all the departments of our college and impressed us all by the force and cogency of his passing remarks

I remember one little humorous incident in connection with his visit over which I have laughed many times whenever I recalled it. Sir Asutosh was talking of the sights to be seen in Poona as that was his first visit to Poona. Prof. Limaye suggested the inclusion of the famous Parvati temple situated on a hill near Poona. Sir Asutosh was rather averse to the climb of the hill and Prof. Limaye to persuade him that it was not difficult said that the road was quite good and that there were easy steps about 200 in number; to clinch the matter he innocently added, "In the time of the Peshvas even elephants used to go up the Parvati." I do not know whether our visitor felt this as a joke upon his elephantine size but Prof. Limaye was shocked when on leaving I told him what he had said and hoped that Sir Asutosh had missed the force of the remark.

Talking of Prof. Limaye Sir Asutosh got him to advise him on the study of the history of the Mahrathas. He asked him to procure for the Calcutta University all literature on Mahratha History that was available and sent him a sum of money for the purpose. Some of the workers in the University came to Poona and studied the original sources with Prof.

Limaye and several works on Mahratha History have been published by the Calcutta University. Sir Asutosh had the knack of getting distinguished scholars to help his University work and among others got the late Dr. P. D. Gune to edit a book of Prakrit Selections.

I met him for a short time in Calcutta in December, 1921, when, I believe at his instance, I was honoured by the Calcutta University with the degree of D. Sc. It is my lasting regret that the short acquaintance that I formed with him did not ripen into intimate personal relations ; but I shall ever retain the greatest admiration and respect for the man whose intellect was so vast, whose independence was so great and who can be rightly regarded as the father of the present modernised Calcutta University.

R. P. PARANJPYE

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

I have been called upon to offer my homage to the veteran Vice-Chancellor. Our loss is too recent and keen to allow of anything proper being said or done. The earliest recollection that I have of him dates back to 1886, when on joining the Benares Queen's College after Matriculation, I heard the name of Asutosh Mookerjee as a recent master of arts who had proved himself (we were told at College) superior to his examiners at the M.A. Examination. Since then we all looked upon Asutosh Mookerjee as the BEAU-IDEAL of the Indian graduate, nicknamed, "the Superlative Asutosh." I was not, however, fortunate enough to make his personal acquaintance earlier than 1909, when I saw him at his residence in Bhowanipur, and I have a vivid recollection of his hearty handshake, and most engaging conversation from which I derived the great satisfaction that he had been sympathetically watching my work as a literary scribbler. From that date onwards till almost the day of his lamented death, he continued to give me his constant help in all my undertakings, and it gives me the greatest pleasure to say publicly that much of my success in the literary field has been due to his sympathy and encouragement.

As regards his work as a judge I am not competent to speak, but as an educationist he stands an easy first. His work for the Calcutta University, and through that, for all Indian Universities, has been of immense value. The department of post-graduate teaching stands out prominently as the monument of his deep scholarship and keen farsightedness. No human institution is perfect; but with all its imperfections, the said department, during the few years of its existence, has produced a band of scholars whose enthusiasm and work in the cause of research has shown to the Indian public what even an Indian University can achieve,—even in that field, for which the Indian student has been taught from his cradle, there was no scope in this country, and for which he has always been advised to look beyond the four corners of this country. The Calcutta University has demonstrated ocularly that for even the best kind of research in all departments of knowledge, it is not necessary to go out of this country. Ever since Sir Asutosh's retirement I had been looking forward to the day when, having been freed from his judicial duties, the veteran scholar and researcher would put himself actively at the head of the band of researchers, not only at Calcutta, but also at the other centres of learning in the country; not only as a guide and a director, but also as a collaborator and a colleague; I was myself looking forward to the day when I would collaborate with him in translating Shabara. The fates, however, have willed otherwise, but the spirit that he has created in us remains unquenched and the best we can do to give satisfaction to his soul is to continue the good work that he initiated, ever watchful of the standard of excellence that he would have exacted from us.

The estimation in which we hold Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is most fitly and tersely expressed in the following words of the great poet :—

"सर्वं पण्डितराजराजितिलकेनाकारि लोकाधिकम्" ॥

GANGANATHA JHA

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

The underlying tragedy of human life was forcibly brought home to us by the fateful happenings of the evening of Sunday, May 25th. A party of University delegates had travelled down together from the Conference at Simla, accompanied by Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, the second son of Sir Asutosh. We had heard of the latter's illness, but not in such a way as to cause anxiety, and the request that Sir Nilratan Sircar should break his journey at Patna and visit the patient was taken as betokening a natural desire to have at hand a valued physician and University colleague rather than as signifying any immediate danger. Thus our party broke up in the highest spirits, and those of us who travelled on to Calcutta little knew that the blow had already fallen and that the great leader was no more. Next day Calcutta was a city of mourning, and the widespread signs of sorrow, the vast crowds that assembled in the streets and followed onwards to witness the last sad rites, were evidences how deep was the feeling of the intensity of the loss. One who was worthy to be enrolled amongst the greatest workers of his generation had been taken away, and there were many, very many, who felt that they had lost a personal friend, who had helped them in countless ways and whose passing would leave the world for ever emptier for them.

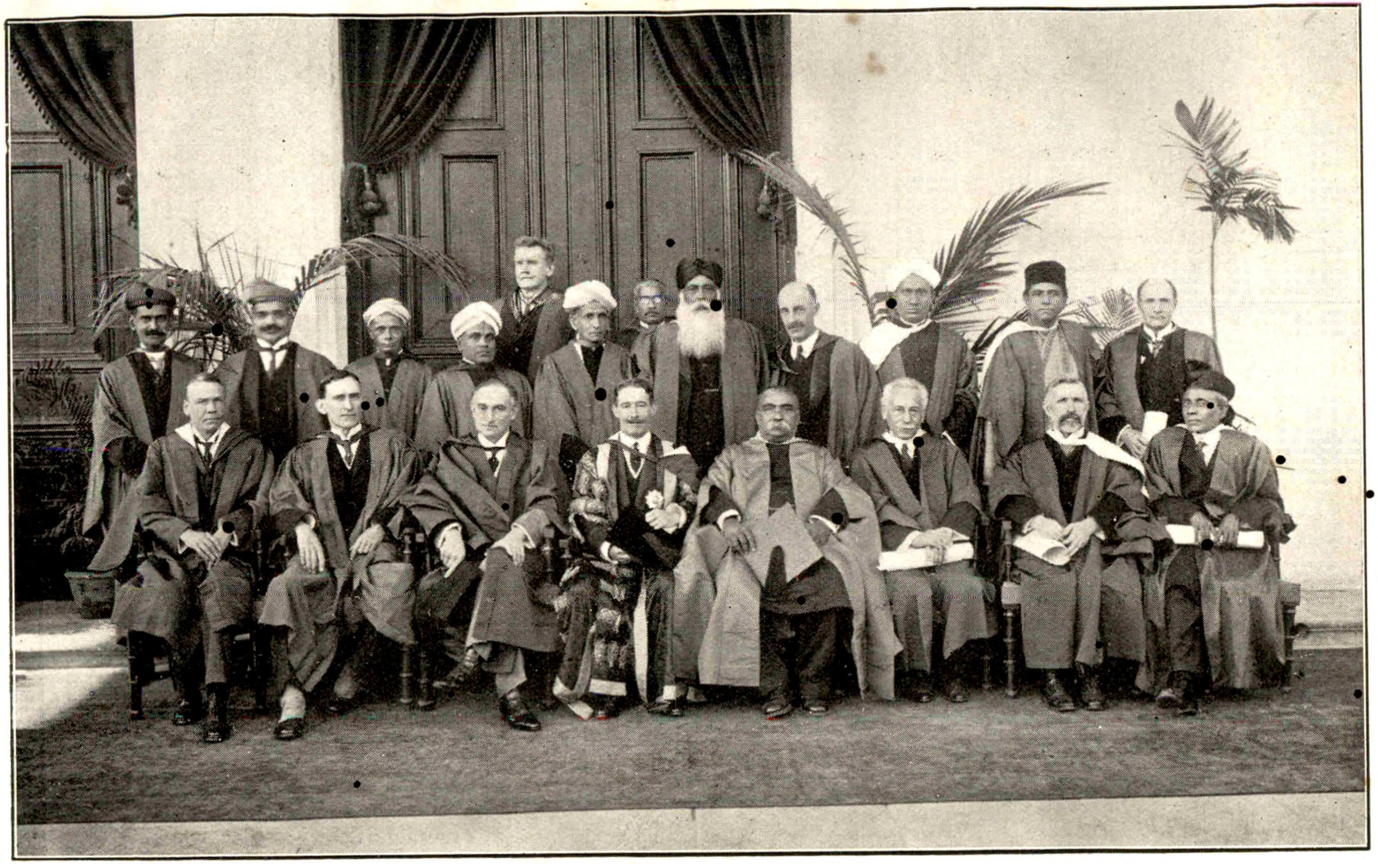
When I first came to Calcutta twenty-one years ago, I once asked in my ignorance, "Who is Dr. Asutosh Mookerjee, and what is his place in the University?" The reply given even then was, "He *is* the University" and the words acquired depth and significance as the years rolled on, until at the Senate memorial meeting they seemed to form the burden of every speech of remembrance. In comparison with his unique personality and his far-reaching constructive genius it may have seemed at times that other men and other methods hardly received the recognition that their diligence and self-sacrificing labours merited, but even those who stood nearest to him in age and service would have been the first to acknowledge how central was the place he occupied. Like a colossus he did bestride the world of our University. With apparent ease he bore burdens under whose weight any ordinary man would have staggered, and his energy seemed tireless and inexhaustible. Our sense of loss is overwhelming in proportion to our appreciation of his greatness. It would be misleading to say that he made no enemies and provoked no criticism, but there can be no doubt whatsoever that in the minds of all with whom he came into contact, criticism, even while it remained criticism, was accompanied by admiration, and in many respects was transformed into sympathetic appreciation and substantial agreement. Sir Asutosh was a vigorous opponent, and occasionally so effectively demolished his opponents that hardly a trace of them remained, but one could not help feeling also that his respect for those who differed from him increased with their capacity to maintain their position. Those who took an opposite side were frequently impressed by his receptivity to new ideas, and by his resolute desire to understand and appreciate another point of view. His highest ideal for the University was not a dull uniformity, but that unity in variety in which there is life and growth.

His crowning achievement—the Post-Graduate department—was an expression of his capacity for suggesting a new mental outlook, for creating and combining academic ambitions, and above all, for inspiring with enthusiasm a band of workers who would work earnestly in the pursuit of knowledge. He was specially appreciative of the efforts of younger colleagues and one of his most frequent sayings—which the older men did not always relish—was "Give the young men a chance." They responded to his trust by giving of their best, and not infrequently by the refusal of more lucrative varieties of employment. Their personal devotion to him was unbounded, and was probably unique in the annals of Universities.

And what can be said of his diligence, his unremitting, persistent toil in the interests of the University? While other men slept, he laboured; while other men developed their intellectual interests, he busied himself over the proceedings of committees and boards of studies; while others saw no way out of a mass of difficulties he discovered a solution—and devised a scheme, sometimes dependent for its success upon the forcefulness of his own personality, and sometimes upon a clear vision of academic futures.

For the sake of his University he sacrificed health and leisure, bodily ease and intellectual enjoyment. The best tribute we can pay to his memory will be to carry on his work. This will have to be done by co-operation and organisation, for no one man can carry the burden which he has laid down. The forms of our academic service may change, and our departed leader would have been the last to desire that they should be stereotyped. But, given a firm resolve that no element of value in the legacy which he has left us shall be lost, and given also a retention of that spirit of devotion to the common academic good which he so persistently expressed in his life, there need be no fears as to the future of the University of Calcutta, no apprehensions lest we fail to make progress towards that ideal of the advancement of learning which he had so much at heart.

W. S. URQUHART



SIR ASUTOSH AND THE RECIPIENTS OF HONORARY DEGREES AT THE SPECIAL CONVOCATION,
DECEMBER 17, 1921

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE AND THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

The life of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee can be studied in two different ways. We may study the man—his great qualities, his towering personality, his wonderful genius. Or we may try to estimate his work, his services to his country and to the world. In the short sketch which I have written for the "Bangabani," I have tried to give an estimate of the man Asutosh, his personality, as revealed in his daily life and his public activities. In the present paper, my object is to estimate his work, and that, too, in one particular sphere, the sphere in which he showed his greatest activity, namely, the Calcutta University.

The great work of Sir Asutosh for the Calcutta University may be summed up in one sentence: He raised the University from the position of an examining University to that of one of the greatest teaching Universities in the world.

To understand how Sir Asutosh was able to achieve this, we have to go back to the Calcutta University Act of 1904. The author of this Act was Lord Curzon who launched it with the avowed purpose of officialising the University, little dreaming that the tiny creature at whose baptism he officiated as the high priest, would so soon throw off all shackles of officialdom and become one of the very few institutions where official frowns and favours counted for nothing. The great intelligence of Sir Asutosh soon perceived in the New Act possibilities of expansion never dreamt of by its author. That this is so is proved by the fact that although the Act was meant for the whole of India, for several years after the passing of the Act the Calcutta University remained the only University which had changed its constitution and become a teaching University.

The Universities Act was passed in 1904 and two years later Sir Asutosh became the Vice-Chancellor. He immediately threw himself whole-heartedly into the task of re-organising the University. A set of regulations called the New Regulations was framed which greatly widened the sphere of activity of the University. These were the foundations upon which the structure of a teaching University was reared. The main change was that while the system of affiliation was not done away with, the University directly took charge of certain branches of teaching. This system, too, was later found inconvenient and all Post-graduate teaching was taken away from the affiliated colleges and centred in the University. When this latter change was made, it created considerable opposition in interested circles but the experience of the last eight years has clearly demonstrated the wisdom of the change.

The resources of the colleges were quite inadequate for Post-graduate teaching, such as was contemplated under the New Regulations. There was only the Presidency College which could make some decent show of coming up to the standard prescribed by the New Regulations. But, as Sir Asutosh pointed out in his Convocation speech in 1914, the Presidency College, however well staffed and equipped, could take in only a small fraction of the students who sought "assistance and guidance in the fulfilment of their ambition to go beyond the B. A. stage." Moreover, the authorities of the Presidency College were really exceedingly slow to "bring their institutions up to the new standards even in a few branches of study." The privilege of affiliation to the M. A. standard was, again, a fruitful source of inter-collegiate jealousy. For all these reasons, the present system is a decided advance upon the previous one.

The vastness of the Post-graduate department will be realised from the fact that in the year 1920-21 in the department of Ancient Indian History and Culture alone there were 23 Professors and Lecturers. Likewise in the department of English there were 21 Professors and Lecturers. So also in the Department of Indian Vernaculars there were 25 Professors and Lecturers. The subjects taught were the following:—English, Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic and Persian, Comparative Philology, Philosophy, Experimental Psychology, General History, Ancient Indian History and Culture, Anthropology, Economics, Pure Mathematics, Applied Mathematics, Modern Languages, French, Tibetan, Poverty Problem, Indian Vernaculars, Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Botany, Physiology, Zoology—altogether twenty-four subjects.

The output of the research work of the University Professors and Lecturers is also very considerable. The University owns a press and some of the volumes are published by the University itself. A great deal of the research work done by the University teachers appears, however, in the journals of the learned societies of England. The Calcutta University also publishes a Journal of Letters which contains a good portion of the research work of its teachers.

The range of subjects covered by the researches of the University Professors and Lecturers is very wide. From "Self-government and the Bread problem" to "The History of the Bengali Language" and "The colour and polarisation of the light scattered by sulphur suspensions," they include almost all branches of human interest.

The University is thus beginning to play its real part in the life of the nation. As Sir Asutosh beautifully expressed in his Convocation Address in 1922, "It is the duty of the University to gather from the persistent past, where there are no dead, and to embody within its walls the learning of the world in living exponents of scholarship who shall maintain in Letters, Science and Art the standards of truth and beauty and the canons of criticism and taste. It is further incumbent upon the University to convey to the community in popular, quite as much as in permanent form, the products of the highest thought on current problems of science and society, of government and public order, of knowledge and conduct."

All this is the work of one man. The University has definitely abandoned its attitude of detachment and begun to take its legitimate place in the life of the community in all its aspects, scientific, economic and political. Whether it will play a still larger part in the national life will depend upon us, upon our determination to stand by our *Alma Mater* and to resist with all the strength we can command all attempts which a jealous Government and an ignorant public have made to discredit her. Thank God, we have at last had our political awakening and this is bound to react favourably upon our attitude towards the University. For if we really want to be a free nation, we must develop the University in such a way that it can be a training ground for free beings. There must, therefore, be no curbing of any activity which is essential to the realisation of our true manhood, no shutting out of any light which helps a free spirit to realise itself. Signs are not wanting that the public has at last realised its responsibility in this matter and has changed its previous attitude of scepticism for one of confidence in the policy of the University. This change of attitude is due to various causes, not the least of which is the attempt on the part of the government to throttle the University. The people have shown in as clear a manner as possible that they are not going to put up with any policy which tries to make the University a Government department. Lord Lytton's attempt has failed and failed miserably, and it is not likely that any future Governor of Bengal will repeat his folly. Lord Lytton's attempt to control the University seemed all the more strange and his defeat all the more deserved, in that he had before him the report of the Calcutta University Commission of 1917-19 which thus described the relations between the University and the Government: "The relations between the Government and the University are of an unsatisfactory kind, involving far too much detailed Government intervention which cannot be satisfactorily exercised and undermines the sense of

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responsibility of the University authorities; while the peculiar relation between the University of Calcutta and the Imperial and Provincial Governments adds an element of complexity and confusion which is not found in the other Indian Universities."

If the Government had been generous in the matter of contributions to the University, there would have been some justification for this attempt to control the University. But what are the facts? The total annual contribution of the Government to the University of Calcutta is only Rs. 1,41,128. If we deduct the amount which the University pays to the Government as honorarium for the professors of the Presidency College, the annual Government contribution comes to only Rs. 1,07,000. This is the magnificent sum which the Government spends on the University and on the strength of which it wants to control the University.*

The meagreness of the Government grant constitutes a positive scandal. The Calcutta University provides teaching for about 3,000 students, while in the Dacca University the number of students taught is only 1,000, yet the Government grant for the former is only a little over one lakh, while for the latter it is nine lakhs. There is absolutely no justification for this remarkable difference in the attitude of the Government towards these two Universities.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee fought continuously for over ten years against this attitude of the Government and though he did not succeed in securing a change in the Government attitude, yet he achieved what was a much greater success, that is, he thoroughly convinced his countrymen of the justice of the University's claim to a much greater support from the public revenues. He has exposed, as no one before him has done, the utter hollowness of the Government's contention that the Calcutta University does not need any further assistance from the Government.

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* The above was written before the last Convocation took place. It is a matter of justification that Lord Lytton has promised to wipe off the University Budget deficit and to be more generous in the matter of contributions to the University.

The Government has tried to make capital of the fact that the University of Calcutta is faced with a heavy deficit. May we ask, with the exception of the big Universities of America which enjoy princely donations, is there any University in the world which does not suffer from financial embarrassment? Only the other day, Oxford and Cambridge were on the verge of bankruptcy and they would have had to cut down a great deal of their activities, if the British Government had not come forward with a large grant. The following statement culled from the issue of the "Calcutta Review" for April, 1922, will show the amount of State aid which the Universities of England received and the amount of deficit which in spite of such liberal State aid, their budgets exhibit:—

Tuition and examination fees of twenty-one English Universities and Colleges (excluding Oxford and Cambridge).	£ 587,039
Treasury and other Parliamentary grants ...	,, 540,637
Local authority grants and endowment income ...	,, 350,916
Estimated deficit	,, 210,435

That the University of Calcutta has been able to carry on with such a scandalously meagre official grant without cutting down any of its essential activities is due to the genius of the late Sir Asutosh.

The Department of Indian Vernaculars, which in the words of Sir Asutosh himself "should constitute the chief glory of the University in the eyes of all patriotic and public-spirited citizens," was the crowning achievement of his glorious life. "For the first time in the history of Indian Universities, it became possible for a person to take the highest University degree on the basis of his knowledge of his mother-tongue." But not only is one's own mother-tongue thus enthroned, but an impetus has been given to the study of the other vernaculars of India. For the fundamental principle upon which the new Department rests is that a student is required to possess a thorough knowledge of his own mother-tongue and a less comprehensive knowledge of a second vernacular. The student is also required to obtain a working acquaintance with two of the languages which have formed the foundation of the Indian vernaculars, such as Pali, Prakrit and Persian.

It has often been said that Sir Asutosh did not feel very much the need of technical education. How mistaken this view is, will appear from the following extracts from his Convocation Speech for the year 1922:—

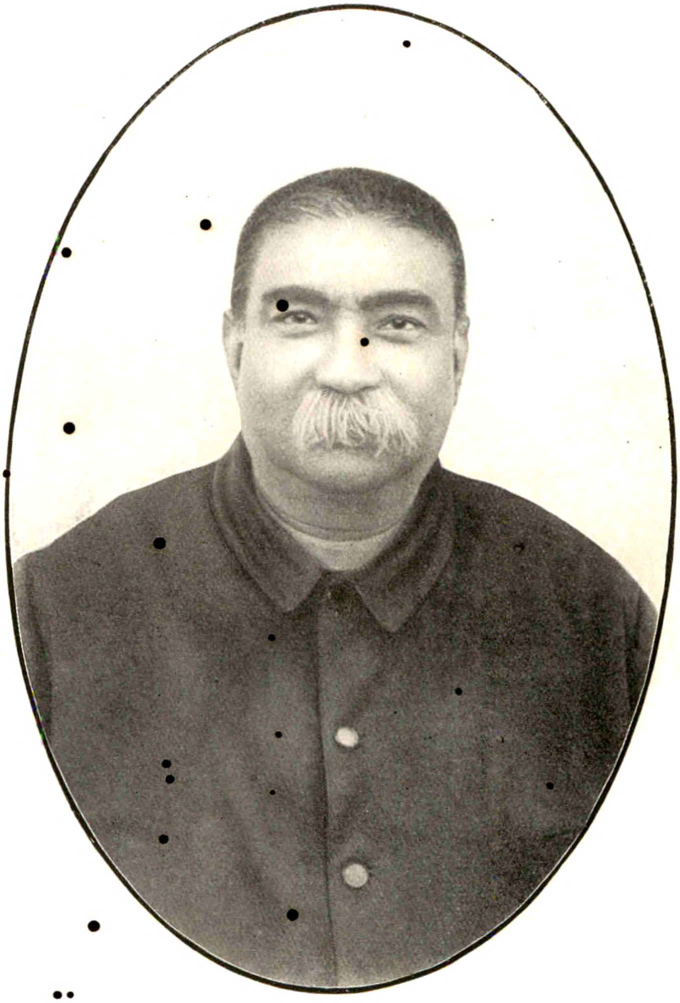
"Let me emphasise that though much has already been achieved, more still remains to be accomplished, especially, in the direction of expansion of what may be called industrial studies. The opportunities of Modern Universities are, indeed, much more comprehensive in this respect than they have ever been before in the civilised world. Industry and education will march forward, more and more, hand in hand, for this is pre-eminently a time to awaken industry and education alike. Industry in its many-sided interests will look to education for enlightenment and support, and out of the laboratories of the University will emanate in an ever-increasing measure the influences that make for economic and industrial improvement and contribute to the betterment of human living and to the good of mankind. I have in my mind particularly the development of technological studies in the broadest sense of that expression, not merely in the University but also in hundreds of schools in the province where the students and teachers alike legitimately display a hopeful yearning for vocational training, unhappily not yet satisfied."

It was Sir Asutosh who asked Captain Petavel to formulate a scheme for the solution of the bread problem among the middle classes of Bengal, and Sir Asutosh accepted this scheme and at the time of his death was trying to put it into operation.

I have often thought that it would have been better for Bengal if Sir Asutosh had not been such a towering genius. For the inevitable consequence of this has been the utter confusion which we see all around us immediately after his death. If he had been a less great genius, other men would have been able to continue the work which he had initiated. But he was miles ahead of other men, and there is no man living who can in any sense be said fit to take his place. The future of the Calcutta University, therefore, fills my mind with some amount of gloom.

There are many dangers and difficulties which beset the path of the Calcutta University. There is the ever-present trouble with the Government which wants to exercise an ever-increasing control over its affairs without being saddled with its burdens. There will be no Sir Asutosh to save the University from such onslaughts upon its independence.

The University, moreover, will very soon find itself called upon to adapt itself to modern political conditions, especially, to the growth of democracy. There are some who believe that University education is a delicate plant which cannot thrive under democracy. If these people happen to be in power, there will ensue a tussle between the University and democracy, in which the University is sure to come out second best. It will be well for the University to recognise that though unenlightened democracy may be a source of danger to the University, yet it is after all only a passing phase. As democracy becomes more and more firmly rooted, it will interfere less and less with higher education, being content to leave it in the hands of those to whom, in the interests of democracy itself, it is best to leave it. Democracy is a fact and the most important fact of the present day. It is itself the result of a long process of education. It will be foolish, therefore, on the part of the



SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE, FEBRUARY, 1921

University to try to ignore it. The University, moreover, possesses in its hands the very instrument with which to shape and enlighten democracy and thus remove for ever all danger from this source. As Sir Asutosh beautifully expressed it, "a great weakness in a democracy, uninformed and unenlightened, is the indifference that largely prevails to the paramount need for the broadest education of all grades amongst the people. And it is the business of the educator to recognise this weakness, to come down from his heights into the valleys, and to work in the light that has been given him for the extension of educational opportunities amongst the new democracy. That will make in the end for the salvation of his country............If we succeed in this our mission the New Democracy, proud and humble, patiently pressing forward, praising her heroes of old, training her future leaders, seeking her own in a nobler race of men and women, will proclaim her confession of faith in the beautiful words of the poet:

"Faith in the worth of the smallest fact and the laws that
govern the star-beams,
Faith in the beauty of truth and the truth of perfect
beauty,
Faith in the God, who creates the souls of men, by
knowledge and love and worship."

SHISHIR KUMAR MAITRA

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

"The country knows not yet, or in the least part, how great a son it had lost." Thus wrote Emerson on the death of Thoreau. With not less truth, I quote these words in reference to the death of one of the greatest of our countrymen.

It is one of the few hopeful things in human nature that if we get to know people, we generally also get to like them. And this is how I got to know, like and respect this great man.

It was in the late October of 1921, I met him for the first and last time. He was then bidding good-bye to a very dear young friend of mine, who was leaving for the Edinburgh University. His parting words still re-echo in my ears "My boy," he said, "I have done all I could for you. Now, work hard and return home a great man." My friend informed me later that his Indian friend was none other than Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, a Judge of the High Court, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, something of the Asiatic Society, etc. In short, he was everything everywhere. He fairly took my breath away. But I was proud of my fortunate experience. I had met face to face the man who filled so large a space in the social and intellectual life of the country.

In the friendship of this eminent Indian for a poor Anglo-Indian boy, I saw the possibility and the potentiality of a wider sympathy and a better understanding between my depressed community and the larger flourishing communities of Indians, for the greater good of our common motherland.

Again, he was a sincere well-wisher of our community. In connection with the recent affiliation of one of our Colleges to the Calcutta University, he expressed himself to the

Principal, thus:—"I am delighted with the step you have taken. I shall revise the syllabus of studies so as to make it as helpful as possible for our poor Anglo-Indian boys. Higher Education will no doubt provide them with one of the solutions to the many problems which hinder their progress." These words, coming from a man, whose intellectual qualities were of a remarkably high order, testify to the good will which cultured Indians have towards us. But, let me proceed. I said that Sir Asutosh's intellectual qualifications were remarkably high. His was a towering personality. He epitomized his era and the intellectual life of his province and of his country. His mind was open to the prevailing winds of thought from all quarters. His vision, always bent to the future, swept far horizons. He lay broad upon his times, his significance absorbed a multitude of lesser men; his eminence grew more imposing as he advanced in years.

If he were great as a Jurist, he was far greater and more human as an Educationist. As a politician, his fearless aggressiveness might have brought him to the forefront of Freedom's battle. But his lot was cast on happier lines. He chose the forefront of human thought. He drove his lonely furrow away from the dust and the din of political strifes and was proud and happy only to prepare the soil and sow the seed for the growth of a nation's freedom. The Calcutta University was his chiefest care. He tended it; nursed it and guarded it with all the tenderness of a mother for her newborn child. It was his "Joyous Guard." He kept watch and ward over it with the heroism of a faithful sentinel. When the authority of an alien ruler assailed its ramparts, he challenged that authority with the intellectual courage of a leader, who sees even in the breach the final triumph of his cause.

Again, as an Educationist, he was pre-eminently an activity and a force—he was an apostle of Progress. He hitched his wagon of progress to many stars well knowing that when he was no more, and perhaps forgotten, his people would at least remember the stars and be guided by them. But, alas! when a man's work is done, he rests from his toil and sinks quietly to sleep. And, thus, we who are Hindu and Mohammedan and Christian; Bengali and Pathan and Anglo-Indian gather under the melancholy cloud of a great sorrow to mourn his loss.

His end was tragic. With the call of duty in his ears, his mind filled with thoughts of his beloved University, his eyes turned to the lights of home, his heart yearning for repose in the bosom of his family, he was making ready to return when the Reaper, Death, called him otherwhere.

He was struck down by an unknown disease and ere any assistance could reach him, he passed away in the dingy shelter of a strange Beharee lodging. What a tragedy! What an affliction!

My thoughts at the moment are full of the sincerest sympathy for his disconsolate widow, for his heartbroken sons, for his bereaved relations and for his unfortunate dependents in their heart-rending sorrow.

But, enough! God console the living. There's no balm in Gilead for them. God grant peace to the dead. His mercy is exceeding great.

A. C. D'SANTOS

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

Some day some one will write the life of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, and I envy him the wealth of material which he will have at his disposal. But that very wealth of material—and even when drawn solely from recollection, it is overwhelming in its bulk—is a serious embarrassment, as one sits down to write a few words about Sir Asutosh.

I first met Sir Asutosh at the house of my late lamented colleague Professor J. N. Das Gupta. I remember we discussed the achievement of the Hindus in the sphere of historical study. That must have been in the cold weather of 1909-10. I met him for the last time just before his fatal visit to Patna, on which occasion we discussed University freedom. Between those two dates, 1909-1924—my whole official life—Sir Asutosh bestrode the University stage like a colossus. He had a policy. Come what might—though the heavens fell—that policy should be carried through. Petty men—and some who were by no means petty—rose up and opposed him. All were swept aside. "This policy will not do; other ways are better," said they. "Other ways may be better," was the decisive reply, "but they are not possible." And straight towards the mark Sir Asutosh continued on his way, until he had created the Teaching University of Calcutta. That in brief is the story of those fifteen years during which I knew him.

I think one felt for Sir Asutosh that admiration which most men feel for any one who gets things done, and essentially Sir Asutosh was the man who got things done. We criticised; sometimes we opposed; now and then we felt that perhaps progress had taken a wrong turning; but when Sir Asutosh had gained his point and carried through the policy at which he was aiming, one could never fail to recognise the skill, the generalship, and the immense effort which had combined to achieve the desired result, and "even the ranks of Tuscany could scarce forbear to cheer."

I had looked forward, some day in the future, after he should have established himself in the political arena, to serving under him as a master. For had he entered the Legislative Council, he would, I think, have, sooner or later, taken charge of the education portfolio, when opportunity made it possible. Had fate permitted this, I think he would have completed his life's work by adding the reform of the school system to his other achievements in the sphere of educational organisation. Fate decreed that this task should be left to others. But it is a tragedy that he was never afforded that opportunity of removing the reproach that he failed to create a new school system at the same time as the new university system. Sir Asutosh's reply to that criticism would, I think, have been: "Give me time; let me finish my present task first." Time alas! was not given, and we are left with that saddest of reflections—"it might have been."

I have valued the opportunity afforded me in these pages of saying my last regretful farewell. I shall ever remember the smile of welcome with which he always greeted me, and the invariable courtesy and kindness which I experienced at his hands.

E. F. OATEN

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

It is hardly a month since Sir Asutosh died and his figure is still too near to us for it to be seen in anything like final perspective. My experience of him was neither so long nor so intimate as that of many other contributors to this number. I met him for the first time about the beginning of the year 1921 and I remember vividly the heartiness with which he welcomed a newcomer and the enthusiasm with which he spoke about the University and its place in the making of modern India. To my mind his claim to greatness rests not so much on the reforms he initiated and worked out—great as they are—as on his sympathy for scholars, enthusiasm for learning and the power to communicate them to all near him. We miss to-day the sunshine and warmth of his eager, vital and joyous personality.

While his interests and activities covered a wide range the University was the main object of his devoted affection and labour. He was undoubtedly the outstanding figure in the history of higher education in India. The Post-Graduate Department was his most distinctive contribution and by his death it has lost its ablest champion. A leader of men, he put into what many have considered the narrow sphere of University education, the fulness of his enthusiasm, administrative genius and organising power. Many of our politicians, in their anxiety to advance the material prosperity of the country overlooked the more vital cultural basis of all progress and thus seemed to Sir Asutosh, to be walking into a deepening darkness. A nation cannot be lifted, all on a sudden, to a higher plane. Men of true culture and piety cannot grow themselves. We cannot carve them out of wood or hew them out of stone. He felt that the youth of the country should be inspired with a vision growing out of the past into the fulness of the future. This, perhaps, is the explanation of his special attachment to the department of Ancient Indian History and Culture. The institution of the Kamala Lectureship on Ancient

Indian Life and Thought is another evidence of it. Singularly free as he was from racial, sectarian and provincial narrowness, he helped to make the University a truly national institution. It is foolish to imagine that Sir Asutosh was not so much for elevating the minds of the masses as for affording careers to pedants. Those who light but a little candle in the darkness help to make the whole sky aflame. In years to come, it will be recognised, to his lasting credit, that he furthered the true progress of his people by diverting some of the best among them, from the chief industries of the land, law and government service, to scholastic careers. Many of those who have enhanced the reputation of the University in the world of letters—to mention names would be invidious—took to literary and scientific pursuits, thanks to the passionate pleadings of Sir Asutosh.

During the last years of his life, some of his activities came in for a good deal of hostile criticism. It is the tallest trees that attract the lightning. Nobody claims for Sir Asutosh an incredible perfection. It is quite true that he dominated all the Committees on which he sat. But the secret of his power was not his autocratic nature. Joseph Chamberlain, in accounting for his success said, "In every Committee there is only one man who knows his mind and he leads the rest and that one man happened to be 'myself.'" In University affairs, Sir Asutosh happened to be that 'one man' with a clear grasp of the general principles as well as small details. His knowledge was his power. The lesson is clear that greatness and power are reserved for those who strive and struggle and not merely play and pretend.

But of all his qualities, that which perhaps strikes one most was that wonderful simplicity of nature which Tennyson noted in the Iron Duke,

"And, as the greatest only are,
In his simplicity sublime."

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

Fortified with all modern intellectual equipments in science, literature and law, gifted with an imagination worthy of a creator, possessing enthusiasm and endurance rarely equalled, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was one of the greatest of men born of any age. Apparently a complex personality, his whole passion of life was the intellectual regeneration of his country, which achieved uncommon success during the short period of time he was at the helm of affairs of the Calcutta University. The keen and genuine appreciation he felt for merit, led him almost to thoughtless patronage which only showed in its true light, the inner man. A masterful person in all his relationship with men, he was fearless and uncompromising, but a generous opponent. With extraordinary acuteness, combined with character, with a strict sense of justice, blended with humane perceptions, imbued with old as well as modern culture, he was undoubtedly the most outstanding personality in modern India, whose phenomenal achievements will mark an era of progress in this country. If the Calcutta University has won a recognised position in the literary and scientific centres of theworld, it is due in no small measure to his initiative and untiring activities. Had he been born in a free country, where his talents might have found untrammelled scope, he would most certainly have followed politics as his career, and would have ranked as a Bismark.

P. C. RAY

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

As lightening stroke doth fell the tree,
Which stood but now in royal pride,
And sets the Monarch's spirit free,
But desolates the countryside:

So, Death, in flash of moment's time,
Hath torn from us a man so great—
That we, perchance, may never climb,
As when he led us—ruling "Fate."

A Province mourns her Son to-day;
India is poorer, losing him;
Where British Empire holds her sway,
His going leaves her lustre dim.

Shall we, who served him during life,
Forsake his vision, now he's gone?
Nay! This we vow, through storm or strife,
Unfurl his flag, and carry on.

A. B.

A. M.

(25th May, 1924)

Farewell great Worker! Dreamer of great dreams!
Who dared to gaze back in the depths profound
Of India's glorious past; who sought and found,
In our beloved Motherland, the streams
Of Holy Ganga, that, from Siva's hair
Descending, offer'd draughts of Wisdom rare
To thirsting souls of men. Now underground
This Ganga flows: how drag her out once more
To surface, whereby, as in days of yore,
Our land become a place of pilgrimage,—
This was the only thought that did engage
Each moment of thy life. God-giv'n thy store
Of gifts thou didst for India freely pour;
Come back,—for Service greater than before.

POST-GRADUATE.

MY REMINISCENCES

The editors of the *Calcutta Review* have asked me to contribute a note on my reminiscences of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

I well remember being told in England that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was all-powerful in higher education in Bengal and, when I was first appointed (in 1917) a member of the Sadler Commission, on which he was my colleague, that he would have ready for us a scheme for the re-organisation of the University of Calcutta, which the Commission would, no doubt, accept. It would have been surprising indeed if Sir Asutosh, who had devoted so much of his life to the University, had not thought out proposals to lay before us. He met the English members of the Commission with Sir Sankaran Nair, then Minister for Education, at Bombay, shortly after our arrival.

My first recollection of his personality is vivid: the massive form swathed in *chuddar* and *dhoty*, the powerful head and neck, the brilliant eyes, the ready and good-humoured smile (I never saw him smile ironically) the clear and rapid speech, generally low, but rising in intensity with his feelings. He spoke to us for something like an hour with eloquence, with passion, with humour, on the great problems before us. The speech was masterly. It was clear that he knew every detail of University organisation in Bengal. But he was not acquainted with the details of Indian teaching outside Bengal, nor with the Universities in other parts of the world, and he showed, almost at once, his willingness to think out afresh the problems of education to which he was so passionately devoted. With the rest of us, he visited the class-rooms of colleges and schools, spoke to students and parents, to teachers and organisers, and patiently sat down to read and digest the immense volume of written evidence submitted to us. We travelled together many thousands of miles, we worked together for over seventeen months, we held over one hundred and ninety meetings; and during that time the five volumes of report and the eight volumes of evidence and memoranda were written or compiled and most of them were printed. It is no indiscretion to say that during our deliberations Sir Asutosh altered almost completely his original views. Each chapter, almost each paragraph, of the report was debated in detail and modified to meet the common view of all the members as far as possible. Sir Asutosh was an admirable debater. He could speak at length if he wished, but I have never met any one more capable of condensing an argument or of putting it tersely and forcibly, nor any one more capable of listening with patience to the arguments of others. At times it was clear that the differences of individual members could not be thrashed out in the Committee-room and on more than one occasion it was my pleasure and privilege to go for a long walk with Sir Asutosh, either on the Maidan at Calcutta, or along the hill-side at Darjeeling, and so to arrive at an agreement which had previously seemed impossible. But I shall not be accused of indiscretion, if I say that it was mainly due to our Chairman, Sir Michael Sadler, that the conflicting views of the different members of the Commission were so largely brought into harmony, and that Sir Asutosh was not a signatory to any dissentient note. He had the largeness of mind to perceive the defects of the system which he had done so much to create, and to wish for its amendment. It is not the place here to explain why the recommendations of the Commission have so far remained unacted on in Bengal, except in Dacca. But I may recall that Sir Asutosh gave me what assistance he could at the initiation of the University of Dacca. For some time he acted as a member of the Advisory Committee on whose recommendations the Chancellor (Lord Ronaldshay) made the first appointments to the teaching staff, and he personally recommended to me not less, I think, than six members of the post-graduate staff of the University of Calcutta for appointment to higher positions in the University of Dacca, though he was reluctant to part with any of them. My personal relations with Sir Asutosh, both during the Commission and after my return to India were uninterrupted by any difference. For obvious reasons I have abstained from taking part in recent controversies with regard to the University of Calcutta and I never discussed them with him either verbally or in writing. But Sir Asutosh was well aware that my desire for the advancement of the University of Dacca did not prevent me from urging on every possible occasion that financial assistance should also be given to the University of Calcutta. Bengal with its 45 million people has need of two Universities at least, and it will be a false economy if Bengal does not provide them with the funds they require for efficient working. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was the first man in Bengal to realise that a University, if it is to be a real University, must not only teach and examine but also advance science and learning, and he carried his theories into practice. In many ways I have come to know how great a stimulus he has given to almost every young man of promise with whom he came into contact. He also clearly saw that it was in the interest of Bengal that the University of Calcutta should secure the best men for its teaching, whether they were natives of Bengal or came from other parts of India. No man is without his faults; but the services which Sir Asutosh rendered to the University of Calcutta and to its students in the more advanced stages, were immense. Only a man of his amazing vitality and physique could have carried on his work as a Judge of the High Court and as Vice-Chancellor and Chairman of the two Post-graduate Councils at the same time. Yet it was beyond the power of any man with such divided claims to carry out a policy of reconstruction in an institution of the great complexity and size of the University of Calcutta. I had hoped that some day Sir Asutosh, as a whole time Vice-Chancellor of the University, would be able to put into execution the reforms which he had advocated. But it was not to be. We shall long mourn the departure of a man whose vast capacity and encyclopædic learning, whose devotion to the cause of higher education and whose ceaseless energy made him the admiration of all who knew him. In Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, India loses one of the greatest of her sons. In his person he united ideals of the East and of the West. He was a non-compromising Hindu, faithful to ancestral belief and tradition ; yet his mind was open to all ideas, from whatever source they came, and few Westerns have had a more catholic mastery of Western thought; and for him thought meant not only contemplation but action.

P. J. HARTOG

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

The Torch of Learning hold on high,
Brothers all are, within its ray.
Bengal and England, 'neath one sky,
Proclaim United Empire Day.[1]

For this he strove, for this he fought,
The highest ever to attain—
The Sciences and Arts he brought
Together, for his country's gain.

What feeble pen can tell his praise,
Or tell of how we feel his loss?
Or, how, fit monument to raise,
To show him gold, above earth's dross?

We watch his undying spirit soar,
To heights beyond all earthly fears:
He would not have us sorrow more,
He waits for us to dry our tears.

And follow still, the Golden Gleam
Of Torch, which he hath handed on:—
Till we shall also cross Life's stream:—
That last experience bravely won.

A. B.

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[1] (Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's sudden death was cabled to England on Monday the 25th of May: the 24th was Empire Day.)

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

I have always regarded Sir Asutosh Mookerjee as the most outstanding figure in Bengal, and as one of the most outstanding figures in India, during my time. The traits in him which most impressed themselves upon me were his force of character, breadth of knowledge and powers of work. He never seemed to spare himself, and I fear that it was the heavy case he undertook at Patna which overtaxed his strength. It was typical that, even then, amid all his professional work, he gladly delivered a most able address to the local Research Society.

HENRY WHEELER

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

(*Some personal touches.*)

So much has been written during the past month and more about this great Indian that there is indeed a danger that one may lose sight of the human being while reading all the appreciations that have appeared. To me it seems always a mistake to make a god of any human being. To me Asu Babu the god or the demigod is disappointing, but Asu Babu, *the man* is one of the most inspiring beings with whom I have had the privilege of working. It is, therefore, the man I will consider in this little tribute from one who has always regarded him as one of the greatest figures in the world of the present generation.

My first meeting with him was characteristic of the man. I had come to Calcutta seeking a post that I had heard was vacant. I had met several University officials but had little encouragement from any. I was asked to see Sir Asutosh, and when I in my turn asked for a letter of introduction I was told that I had best introduce myself. I started off next day in the morning, accordingly, for 77 Russa Road. Arriving there I saw a whole lot of men gathered there, among them our present Controller of Examinations. I waited with the others and presently in walked Sir Asutosh from the inner doorway. Seeing me to be a stranger he came up first to me. He was dressed in a *genji* (it was February) and a *dhoti*. He asked me a few questions, heard my request, and then he said, "I will have you." What struck me was the absolute confidence with which he said these words and also the pronoun in the first person singular. My friends when they heard of this told me that the thing was done and that I was as good as appointed. Here, I thought, was a leader worth following, for he knew exactly what he wanted and when he had made up his mind he spoke it out unequivocally.

My first "brush" with him was another occasion worth noting. It was a meeting of my special Board; of course, he was presiding. In the course of the meeting some proposal was made from the chair. I had the hardihood to suggest an amendment; I was young in the ways of the University then. A very curt and decisive "No" from the chair, and I subsided mute and mentally hurt. He had noted my discomfiture and when I met him again at Russa Road a few days later, he referred to the matter and explained why he had been so short at the meeting. He made it quite clear to me that other departments with which I had nothing whatever to do would be affected by what I had suggested, and that he could not take all the other members of the meeting into confidence. I learnt my lesson. Ever afterwards whenever I had any proposal to make I first discussed it with him in private. No one could have listened more patiently, no one could have taken such pains to place his own point of view so frankly and unreservedly before another as he used to do with me. And when the matter came before the meeting it was already decided. This the outsiders called his "autocracy," but I know, and all my colleagues know, that it was as great a "democracy" as was possible to have. Often, indeed, we had to give way before his superior wisdom and riper experience. But I can remember occasions when the victory had been mine. All matters were discussed freely before they were brought forward formally in the meetings. It meant an enormous saving of time, I never remember any business meeting lasting more than ten minutes. Outsiders only saw how these meetings were conducted, where the President alone did the speaking. They ought to have tried to find out something more of what was actually happening before hurling their accusations at the great man.

The thing that struck one most in him was his vast intellect as well as his imagination and intuitive power of gauging men. There were few subjects taught in this University about which he did not know more than an average professor, while in some subjects, like Mathematics and Sanskrit, his knowledge was profound. The only Boards of which he was not the President in the Post-Graduate Arts department were those for Latin and for Hebrew and Syriac. To have had such a gigantic brain at the head of all departments led to a correlation and co-ordination of the various parts which would have been impossible without him. Inspite of all his deep knowledge he never interfered with the purely academic side of our work, prefering to leave this matter to the expert ; but occasionally he would come out with some suggestion regarding a book or some scheme of studies which would set the "experts" wondering where and how he knew about it.

His imagination was of a quality which is rarely found with such great practical ability. When he started talking about his beloved India and what she was and what she would be in the future, his words had all the fire of those of a poet and a prophet. Never for a moment did he doubt that India was to be great in the near future. He dared to dream dreams of her greatness such as few have done. He dreamt these dreams even while broad awake. Every breath of his body was inspired by this dream, every act of his was calculated—deliberately calculated—to bring these dreams down into the material world of our every day-life. The University was his "first love," but to him the University was but one phase of the Great Mother, BHĀRATAMĀTĀ.

His intuitive grasp of human character was marvellous. He knew everyone of his workers as they probably did not know themselves. He knew how much good was in the man and took care that he got that out of him. Some people he tolerated inspite of all weaknesses merely because, as he put it e, "they would be less useful outside the University than within it." Each one of the scores of workers under him he knew thoroughly and strove to know intimately. He knew their affairs and sympathised with their difficulties and always gave help and good sound advice. He knew exactly "the soft spot" in each man's heart and touched it with a master's hand. This above all was the quality that got him a personal affection such as a leader rarely enjoys. To most of us the gap left by his departure is a gap in our intimate circle which is difficult to fill up, to most of us the memory of Sir Asutosh is bound up with words of kindness, friendly and encouraging letters, a smiling look or an elder brother's grip of the hand. In short, the feeling that he had the human touch about him the feeling that he appreciated our joys and sorrows, that is the most precious thing I have in my memory of him. For this, if for nothing else, do I feel deeply thankful to him, for this will I cherish his memory with reverence and affection.

As a worker I have not known any one to approach him, except one—Mrs. Besant. Every minute of his waking day was full. And yet he found time for every task that could be put upon him. Work was to him the very sum and substance of life. I believe he would have ceased to live if he had had his work taken away from him. His death was just the sort he would have liked, struck down in the midst of the battle, in full possession of all his marvellous powers. And all this strenuous work was not to bring himself riches and renown (though, incidentally, both these "were added unto him") but that his people his beloved India, may be great.

Such was the Asu Babu, the true son of India, that I knew and loved, such is the figure that shall remain with me. Great as he was as a Lawyer, as a Judge, as a Nation-builder, to me he was greatest as a MAN.

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA

EARLY REMINISCENCES OF SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

The news of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's death with sudden and tragic swiftness, was received at Simla in the small hours of the morning on Monday, the second of June. It soon spread like wild fire and positive dismay was depicted on every face. Members of both the Houses of the Legislature, who had some meetings, formal and informal, and had met at the Legislative Assembly Library—were literally staggered as they received it. The first idea was that it was a mistake and that the news about Sir Asutosh Chowdhury's death, which had been received two or three days earlier, had been repeated. The mistake which curiously enough, had been made at many other places, was soon dispelled. Representatives of distant parts of the country, to whom Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was no more than a name, were in equal grief as those that had known him the longest and the most.

The Council of State and the Assembly met the next morning and after question time, inspite of routine and official difficulties that were soon overcome, the first business at both the Houses was feeling and reverent references to what was unanimously declared to be a national loss. It fell to my lot to take part in these sad proceedings in the Council of State, as also to preside at the crowded and representative public meeting at the Freemasons' Hall, Simla, that was held soon after, to mourn the loss. Little could I, therefore, add now to what I expressed on those occasions, as well in full court as on the occasion of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's retirement from the Bench. I had the honour then of representing the Incorporated Law Society. The Officiating Advocate General in referring to Sir Asutosh's death, I believe, read out in full

Court what was said on the occasion, and there is hardly need for repetition.

Much has been and will be said on the platform and in the press about Sir Asutosh's wonderful personality from many points of view. I shall confine myself, therefore, to what few of the later generations would want to know or care about—*viz.*, his earlier days.

We were boys together. His father and mine were physicians, whose services were much in requisition. They were friends and often met, professionally and otherwise. His uncle Babu Radhika Prasad and my uncle Principal Prasannakumar were friends. Dr. Ganga Prasad and Babu Radhika Prasad used often to come to our old house in Wellington Street; and with them sometimes came young Asutosh. Justice Dwarkanath Mitter's gifted son Surendranath Mitter—who was my fellow student and a relation—used also to come and used to have fairly free fights with and about Asutosh. Surendranath, though my fellow student, was slightly younger than myself and Asutosh was still younger. They were both strong in what was called Mathematics—Arithmetic, Algebra and Euclid's Geometry—and the problem in the *Baitakkhana* at 53, Wellington Street was as to who had scored better. The company that used to come together in this little *Baitakkhana* was noteworthy; among others used to come Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, Babu Ramtanu Lahiri, Dr. Rajendralal Mitter, Babu Kristodas Pal, Babu Surendranath Banerjee, Pundit Sivanath Sastri, Babu Krishnakamal Bhattacharya, Babu Bankimchandra Chatterjee, Babu Hemchandra Banerjee, Babu Jogendrachandra Ghosh, Babu Beharylal Chakrabatty, Babu Rangalal Banerjee, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Babu Dinabandhu Mitra, Dr. Mahendralal Sarkar, Dr. Jagabandhu Bose, Babu Umeshchandra Batavyal, Raja Babu and Babu Kally Kissen Mitter the well-known pioneers of Homeopathy, Mr. O. C. Dutt, Kabiraj Brojendranath Sen Gupta, Mr.

Taraknath Palit, Mr. W. C. Banerji and Mr. Manomohan Ghose.

Surendranath Mitter had the well-known Professor Rees for his tutor, and when he wanted to investigate the inside of a watch as a student of Mechanics, paltry trifles as breaking up of MacCabb watches did not stand in the way—Mr. Madhusudan Das, in his recent reminiscences, has told us that Asutosh was also provided with similar facilities. Even then Asutosh had singularities that marked him out for distinguished success and Dr. Gangaprasad was proud of his son. He got together for him at a considerable cost the nucleus of the fine and encyclopædic Library that Asutosh built up and that is easily the first among any private Libraries in India. After the death of his younger brother Asutosh became the subject of greater solicitude, than ever, of his father.

When an office jan used to be at his and his brother's service for the journey between Bhowanipore and the Presidency College, later on, there were two fixed points of stoppage in Wellington Street on the afternoon return journey—Bhim Nag's sweetmeat shop and Sambhu Addy's book shop not far removed. Both the *rendezvous* enjoyed unstinted and noticeable patronage of Asutosh, till Cambray supplanted the latter. Mr. Taraknath Palit, who was a great book lover and used to frequent Addy's bookshop, sometimes met young Asutosh there and encouraged him and guided him in his choice of books and also his studies.

The Presidency College, when Asutosh came there, was going throguh one of its remarkable periods in recent times. Nandakrishna Bose, Byomekesh Chakrabatty, Asutosh Choudhury and Surjakumar Agasti, were going out or had just gone out. Ramanath Bhattacharjee was dead, Mohinimohon Chattarjee, Dwarkanath Chakrabarty, Bhupendranath Basu, Herambachandra Maitra, Kalisankar Sukul, Tarakishore Chaudhury, Digambar Chatterjee, Narendralal Dey, Narendranath Sen, Amulyachandra Mitra, Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, Ramchandra Majumdar, Dhanballav Sett, Jogenchandra Dutt, Prafullachandra Ray, Sureshprasad Sarvadhikari, Bhupati Chakrabarti, Abdur Rahim, Abdus Salem and Shumsul Huda, to name only a few of the remarkable body of graduates that it produced during these years, were in one or other of the classes. Among the professors were men like Professors Tawney, Elliot, Pedlar, Gough, Hoernle, Pearycharan Sirkar, Prasannakumar Sarvadhikary, Booth, Paulson, McCann, Nash, Bellet, Rowe, Webb, Mann, and Hand, who followed the race of Sutcliff, Beeby, Croft, Clarke, and Ishanchandra Banerjee. New factors that had been neglected before were just making their appearance and there was a Presidency College Union, a Student's Association and Cricket and Rowing Clubs. Country games also were much in vogue, for we were truly *Swadeshi* in garment and in everything. The scientific side that had long been more or less primitive, was being slowly equipped and the Law Department had Professors like Dr. Troylokyanath Mitter and Syed Ameer Ali. The Engineering Department was still there and the Presidency College was a little University in itself. The moral tone, as well as discipline, was high, and although there were "sets" and "groups" that kept to themselves more or less, healthy public opinion prevailed all round and before any one went astray in any way—and it was rare—he thought and feared as to what his fellows would say or think of him. The "Atmosphere" was favourable to good work and the output was one that any institution might well be proud of.

And foremost among them was Asutosh who, though he did not take much part in what would now be called the social side of college life, was an outstanding figure from the beginning. It was said of Lord Curzon that he always thought whether he would be the Premier or the Viceroy of India. Asutosh's boyhood's theme was said to be whether he was to be the Vice-Chancellor of the University or a Judge of the High Court—He ended by being both and all because he set about his work devoutly and devotedly, right from the start and never allowed himself to be distracted by diversions. Neither the Debating Society, nor the Cricket Field, nor the Boat Club attracted him and his one recreation was long walks, which he kept up till the end. He was a particular favourite of Mathematical teachers like Professors Elliot, Booth and McCann and his book on Conic Sections, which the University adopted as Text Book, was one of his early achievements. Left to himself Sir Asutosh would have been a teacher; so would have been Sir Gooroodas Banerjee and myself. These three Vice-Chancellors of the Calcutta University and others were driven to law, because of lack of imagination on the part of the authorities, who forbade them anything but appointments in the subordinate service which they naturally declined. Another noticeable thing about these three Vice-Chacellors was that none would have passed the Entrance Examination in time, if the age rule was insisted on as it is now.

Sir Asutosh early got into touch with Dr. Hoernle, who was doing useful work in the Asiatic Society, which attracted Asutosh and his critical study of *Mrichhakatika*, which drew attention, was his college-day product. Simple and unostentatious in manners and clothing Asutosh's one devouring hobby was books, of which he was no mere collector and of which he made good use. So accustomed was he to his disarranged mass of books from floor to ceiling all over his house—which had to be expanded for housing his treasures—that he could indicate without difficulty and no one else knew, where a particular book was to be found. The Library will need reverent and thoughtful handling, as one of his biggest memorials.

We hear a great deal of *Swadeshi* movements now-a-days and of plain living and high thinking. Though there was no overt and ostensible cult in those days, Presidency College men of the period to which Asutosh belonged set an example in this direction, which, if consistently followed, would hardly have needed the latter-day aggressive policy. Discarding the unnecessary *chudder* was one of the achievements of the Asutosh-set in the college and his raiment was the plainest possible.

Brilliance of University career soon led to formation of University connection, and the men to whom Sir Asutosh mostly owed his early advancement in this field, were Dr. Mahendralal Sarkar, Father Lafont and Sir Gooroodas Banerjee. To Mr. A. M. Bose and Babu Kalicharan Banerjee also he owed a great deal and Rai Bahadur Troylokyanath Banerjee was also a great help. He was articled to Dr. Rashbehary Ghose, whose appreciation of his sterling worth was early, and he and Babu Maheshchandra Chowdhury and Rai Bahadur Annada Prasad Banerjee, Senior Government Pleader, who were great factors in the Faculty of Law and the High Court, were always willing to help on the brilliant *débutant.* He would make all work that came his way his own, which won him the approbation and support of Sir Comer Petheram, whose Vice-Chancellorship was made easy for him by willing Asutosh, who took off all drudgery and hard work from Sir Comer's unwilling shoulders. Extraordinary capacity and willingness to take pains with regard even to the smallest of details was the secret of his success, both in the High Court and the University, indeed in all his spheres of work—and knowledge acquired by these opportunities was indeed power. And his *forte* was ability to attach himself to, and make his own, worthy causes. When as a very early Vice-President of the Sahitya Parishad, my father pressed the claims of Vernaculars in the Syndicate and the Senate, Asutosh was one of his earliest supporters; and it was a proud day for me when I was able to invite Principal Ramendrasundar Trivedi to deliver his course of University Lectures in Bengali, no less than when I took part in what I have always fondly called my first *Khaki* Convocation, which the friends of the University Corps well remember.

He would have gone to the Indian Legislative Assembly if he had been spared and might have gone to the Privy Council, if he had cared. I had a long talk with Lord Haldane, in 1912, and the Chancellor was quite agreeable. So was Sir Asutosh when I spoke to him on my return ; but his mother was alive and she would not agree. We talked of it again, not long before his death and he discussed with me, in detail, plans for a visit to England, with one of his sons. But the Great Journey was at hand and it was writ otherwise.

Though a considerable amount of travel in India fell to his lot, Sir Asutosh's habits and tastes were essentially those of devotion to family and he hardly went anywhere unaccompanied by some members of his family. A better mother, a better wife and a better daughter it fell to the lot of few to have ; and their influences were a great inspiration, solace and staying power to him. He was away from Calcutta the day that his mother had her fatal attack. I waited at the Sealdah Station to break the news, that nearly upset him. Most of his holidays were spent at Madhupur where we were neighbours and I was privileged to notice how such influences worked. Little Kamala, whose recent death, after her untold sorrows, undermined Sir Asutosh's health for good, was the bond that brought and kept us together, more than anything else. She was the light of the house and of all who came within the sphere of her influence. Her death hastened the catastrophe that the land universally mourns.

Of Sir Gooroodas Banerjee, a characteristic story is often told with effect. A wayside householder caught him while returning from his Ganges bath and made him perform *Saraswati* puja. Sir Asutosh officiated as priest at *Satyanarain* puja at my Madhupur house and exacted the usual fees and offerings.

We had worked together long in many spheres—from the Managing Committee of the Madhupur Edward George School to the Senate of the Calcutta University. Frequent and sometimes acute, indeed, were unfortunately our differences. I never let them influence my work, or ruffle our private relations; and through such differences, indeed, did I learn more to esteem his high worth and sterling qualities. Long had I trained myself to bury such differences so that the causes that we both loved might prosper and grow more and more. His eagle eye and his constant vigilance made balanced work easy. Such differences, however, are now things of the past.

May Providence that has chosen to call him away guard against all dangers and fortify the cause that was and had always been his very own.

DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

I had the privilege of knowing Sir Asutosh Mookerjee intimately while he was working on the Calcutta University Commission. He was a great personality in the Commission and a large number of the suggestions embodied in the Report of the Commission were initiated by his masterly mind. He had intimate knowledge of all the details of the organisation of the Calcutta University and he supplied the Commission at every stage with useful material for discussion. He was a person of strong likings and dislikings and his friends always looked upon him with great love, respect and devotion. He impressed every person with his enthusiasm, his exceptional power of organisation and masterly grasp of details. He could stand any amount of hard labour and after doing ten hours' solid work with the Commission he sat down for several hours in his room in the Senate Hall to carry on the daily work of the Calcutta University which he loved more than anything else in this world.

ZIAUDDIN AHMED

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

Some days ago, news came here of the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. I could not believe it to be true ; but there is no more any place for doubt as official reports are coming. I want to tell you, to tell my colleagues of the Calcutta University, that your loss is my loss, that your sorrow is my sorrow. On the very first day I had met him, I had felt myself immediately bound to him by friendship, reverence, admiration. The same feelings grew stronger as I knew more of him. There was in his nature a power of will, energy, activity that impressed at first sight as in Nature's grandest works, in lofty mountains, in oceans, but this power was not inert or destructive. No machine, however big, was too huge for his power of construction. What he could do of the Calcutta University looks rather like a miracle; he was too realistic to believe in the efficiency of stones and monuments ; he wanted to have it built of men and he spared no pain to train a new generation of young scholars, as devoted as their forefathers to the search of truth, but able to search on new lines ; his towering genius could survey the whole range of human sciences, and he wanted to have it explored by competent workers.

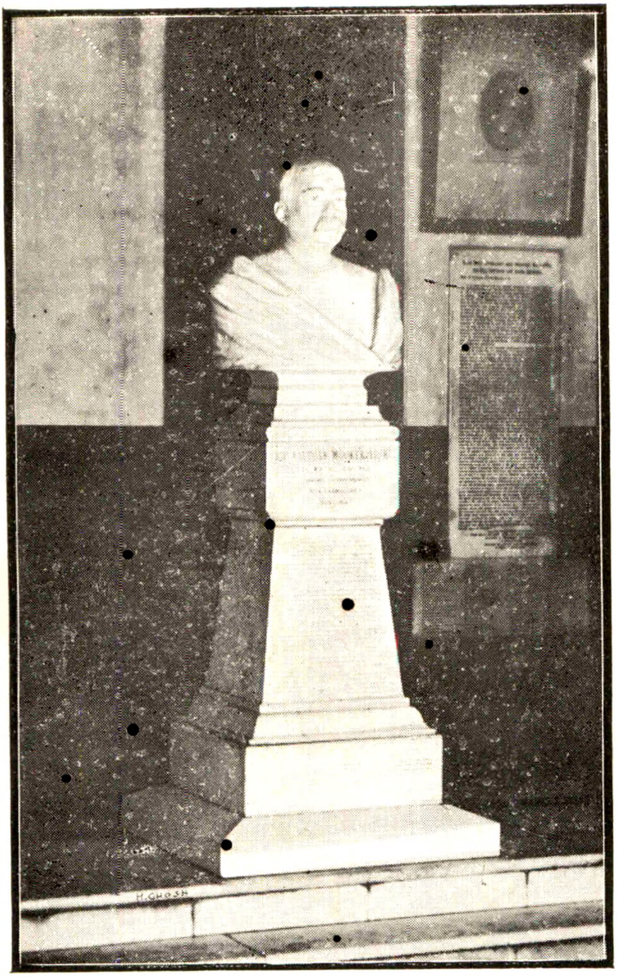
What his loss means for the University and for his country I shall not try to tell ; words would be insufficient. Even my own private loss is beyond the reach of word. Let me, at least, hope that my connection with the University will not become relaxed, that I can still partake of its life and follow its activities in its many publications.

SYLVAIN LEVI

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

I saw Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in Calcutta now and again when I used to visit it during the Congress there and the only time when I personally met him for half an hour's conversation was when he visited Bombay some years ago. I have only known him by his splendid public career. That he was a towering personality, of massive intellect, who, had he been in London, might have even made his mark there among the most learned of Dons and Professors and among the most distinguished Members of the House of Commons I have no doubt. It is Bengal's misfortune that such a magnificent star of the first constellation in your sky should have so prematurely passed off. But his name is certainly to be cherished with pride and gratitude by generations to come.

D. E. WACHA



THE MARBLE BUST OF SIR ASUTOSH AT THE DARBHANGA BUILDINGS

RESIDENCE OF SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE
RUSSA ROAD NORTH

IN MEMORIAM

On behalf of the Members of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, which Sir Asutosh had founded in 1908, and of which he was the distinguished President since its foundation and on behalf of the Officers of the University of Calcutta, who had worked in intimate relation with this great administrator and felt, at every step, the magic touch of his genius and wisdom, may I endeavour to give some expression to the profound grief and tribulation into which they have been plunged by the sudden departure, from the field of his manifold activities, of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and recall from the pages of memory and record, a few reminiscences and a few traits of this marvellous character.

His passing away, under distressing circumstances, in a place far from the arena in which he often displayed the great qualities of his head and heart, still appears to us like a dream. He was quite hale and hearty when, just before the last and fateful journey to Bankipore, he looked into the progress made in regard to the results of the big Examinations and expressed his dissatisfaction, in his characteristic manner, masterful at the same time kind, at the stage then arrived at. It was on a Saturday. He was in the Registrar's room as usual, up to his neck in work. His last words to me were "Look here, the blame for the delay in the publication of the results will be laid on you." On my explaining to him the steps I had taken to expedite the work he made an engagement, the next morning—Sunday, with the Tabulators and personally exhorted them to push on the work. At the same time, he fixed the following Saturday for a meeting of the Board of Moderators to consider the results. Alas, he never returned. Sorely we felt the loss of his masterly guidance and of his far-seeing wisdom in this and other more important matters! The management of so complicated a machine as the present University of Calcutta requires 'the meekness of Moses, the patience of Job and the wisdom of Solomon added to the valour of David'—Alas where shall we find these again in happy combination in a single Leader?

Asutosh knew not what fatigue was. His great recipe, like Gambetta's, was "to work, still to work and always to work." On my once inquiring how he was, his reply was "I am working!" And cruel Death surprised him at last at work in a distant land!

We can hardly reconcile ourselves to the reality. It was only the other day the Senate Hall was resounding with his persuasive eloquence, his trenchant criticism of large and complicated matters, and his luminous summing up of the debates round the table. That mighty voice is hushed for ever. But the memory remains and will remain with us till we carry the same into the other world, and having crossed the bar, forge anew our relations with the beloved master.

I write from personal recollections, still bright in my mind, although nearly half a century has passed away, when I say that in the Presidency College of Calcutta, in the early eighties, no student attracted more our admiration and compelled, in a greater degree, our emulation than Asutosh Mookerjee, eldest son of the well-known Dr. Ganga Prasad Mookerjee. I recall to mind, vividly, that broad-chested and broad-browed young student passing briskly along the corridors of the Presidency College, on one occasion, with Bertrand's Calculus, a big tome in French, under his arms; on another occasion with Tait and Steele's Dynamics and a Note-book containing his own neat solutions of the most difficult Cambridge Senate House problems—the possession of which, I, his junior (he was only a year ahead of me), often baffled in my attempts to crack those hard nuts, so much coveted; on still another occasion, I was pleasantly surprised to find him immersed in an attentive study of one of Sir Henry

Sumner Maine's works. Our Professor of Mathematics, Dr. Hugh Maccan, of beloved memory, was taken off in the prime of life and activity suddenly at Raniganj. With characteristic energy and promptitude, Asutosh organized a subscription and provided a marble tablet in memory of that worthy man in the Library Hall of the Presidency College. In the very largely attended meeting of the pupils and admirers of the learned doctor, brilliant was the eloge delivered by the young student. It was a finished, artistic thing which struck us with wonder. Here was a young man reputed to be a devotee of the hard-grained Muses of the Cube and the Sphere, how did he contrive to speak so well in language which could be expected only of a Huxley or a John Morley! In the College Debating Club ever prominent was Asutosh, developing his powers of debate and of the logical expression of his thoughts, with fluency and chastity of diction.

In those early days research was practically unknown among the students. Brilliant men passed certain examinations with credit and chose other careers. Even as a Matriculate, Asutosh had commenced to appreciate the value of Research and we were surprised to find a Note from him, in the pages of the well-known journal, *Messenger of Mathematics*, on a *direct* demonstration of one of Euclid's *indirectly* proved propositions!

Sir William Bragg has recently said "a good research student is like a fire which needs but the match to start it. It is a discipline to put the text book to one side and to get out further knowledge by one's own effort." As young Asutosh grew in years and came under the influence of such brilliant Mathematicians as the late Dr. William Booth, his capacity for Mathematical research became firmly established.

Asutosh was the Beau ideal of a Mathematician to us, who loved and had begun to cultivate Mathematics. Here was a young man of extraordinary mathematical powers, but we soon found that his peculiar mathematical abilities did not exclude attention to other subjects. His versatility struck us with wonder. Literature, History, Law and the Physical Sciences claimed the attention of this ardent student as much as Mathematics, although in those early years Mathematics was the subject which attracted him most and was enriched by contributions from him in the well-known Indian and foreign Journals of the day. What he once studied he made his own for ever. He had acquired, at that early stage, a knowledge of French and German to enable him to study, in the originals, the works of Mathematicians such as Bertrand and Gauss and to read memoirs in Liouville's and other journals.

His father, himself one of the brilliant graduates of the Medical College, discerning early in his first-born signs of genius and talent, had spared no pains to provide him with a valuable Library which the writer of this notice, then a young man with aspirations to become a Mathematician, was graciously permitted to visit and use. He recalls to mind, with pleasure and gratitude, an early incident which showed the largeness of heart of Asutosh. He had taken out from the Library a copy of the Reprints of problems and solutions from the London Educational Times—a copy fresh and beautiful to look at! After a few days the writer's nephew—a child, overturned an inkstand on the spotless pages of the book and spoilt it. The writer's consternation at this incident was great, for the book was not available in India and belonged to one who loved his books. However, he lost no time in apprising Asutosh of the accident. The reply came forthwith and was so kind that the writer regrets he has not preserved a copy.

Asutosh's academic career was brilliant. He was first in the B. A. Examination of 1884, winning the Harishchandra Prize; he was first in Mathematics in the M. A. Examination of 1885. He won the Premchand Roychand Studentship in Mathematics and Physics in 1886. He was the Tagore Law Gold Medallist for three successive years, 1884-1886. In

1894 he won his Doctorate in Law and in 1897 he was selected as the Tagore Professor of Law. In 1908 the degree of Doctor of Science, *Honoris Causa*, was conferred on this worthy son of India. And when the Rector recounted his eminent qualifications for the conferment of the degree, a senator, an erudite Muslim, pointed out an omission, *viz.*, Asutosh's remarkable proficiency in Arabic Literature and Science.

On the Mathematical side, his researches led to his appointment as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and as a member of the Royal Irish Academy, of the Mathematical Societies of London, Edinburgh, Paris, Palermo and New York. Some of his original Mathematical Papers are mentioned below :—

(i) On a Geometrical Theorem (*Messenger of Mathematics,* Vol. 10, p. 122).

(*ii*) Extensions of a Theorem of Salmon's (*Messenger of Mathematics,* Vol. 13, p. 157).

(*iii*) Mathematical Notes (Reprints from the *Educational Times* of London).

(*iv*) Note on Elliptic Functions which has been referred to in Ennepper's Elliptische Functionen (*Quarterly Journal of Pure and Applied Mathematics,* Vol. 21, p. 212).

(*v*) Differential Equation of A Trajectory which has been referred to in that standard work, Forsyth's Differential Equations (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. 46, Part II, p. 116).

(*vi*) Monge's Differential Equation to all Conics (*ibid,* p. 134).

(*vii*) Memoir on Plane Analytical Geometry (*ibid,* p. 288).

(*viii*) General Theorem on the Differential Equations of Trajectories. (*ibid,* Vol. 47, Part II, p. 72).

(*ix*) On Poisson's Integral (*ibid,* Vol. 47, Part II, p. 100).

(*x*) On the Differential Equation of all Parabolas (*ibid,* Vol. 47, Part II, p. 316).

(*xi*) Geometric interpretation of Monge's Differential Equation to all Conics which has been cited in the well-known treatise—*Edward's Differential Calculus* (*ibid,* Vol. 48, Part II, p. 181).

(*xii*) Some Applications of Elliptic Functions to Problems of Mean Values, Parts I and II (*ibid*, Vol. 48, Part II, p. 199 and 213).

(*xiii*) On Clebsch's Transformation of the Hydrokinetic Equations and Note on Stokes's Theorem of Hydrokinetic Circulation (*ibid*, Vol. 49, p. 56 and 59).

(*xiv*) On a Curve of Aberrancy (*ibid*, Vol. 49, p. 61).

(*xv*) Remarks on Monge's Equation to all Conics (*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for February, 1888).

(*xvi*) On Some Definite Integrals.

(*xvii*) On an Application of Differential Equations to the Theory of Plane Cubics.

(*xviii*) Researches on the Number of Normals common to Two Surfaces, Two Curves, or a Curve and a Surface.

(*xix*) Application of Gauss's Theory of Curvature to the Evaluation of Double Integrals.

In his paper on the Differential Equation of a Trajectory (*v* above), the young mathematician who had then recently taken his M.A. degree, dealt with the problem of determining the *oblique* Trajectory of a system of confocal Ellipses which had been first solved by the Italian Mathematician Mainardi in a memoir in the Annalidi Scienze Mathematischee Fisiche, Tome 1, page 251. "Mainardi's solution was so complicated that it was a hopeless task to trace the curve from it; indeed, it was so unsymmetrical and inelegant that Professor Forsyth in his Differential Equations did not give the answer." Mr. Mookerjee gave an elegant solution by which the Trajectory was represented by a pair of *remarkably simple equations* which admitted of an interesting *geometrical* interpretation. Prof. Andrew Forsyth, in a subsequent edition of his Differential Equations, has quoted Mookerjee's solution of Mainardi's problem.

Paper (*viii*) was a development of Paper (*v*). Asutosh did not rest satisfied with giving an elegant solution of Mainardi's problem and a geometric interpretation. "Believing that every simple mathematical result could be established by a correspondingly simple process," Asutosh, keen on his researches, naturally thought it worth-while to re-examine the whole question, to see if the very artificial process of Mainardi, by no means less complicated than his result, could be materially simplified. He was, thus, led to the following very general theorem :—

> "Whenever the co-ordinates of any point on a curve can be expressed by means of a single variable parameter, that is, when the curve is unicursal, the co-ordinates of the corresponding point on the Trajectory may be similarly expressed."

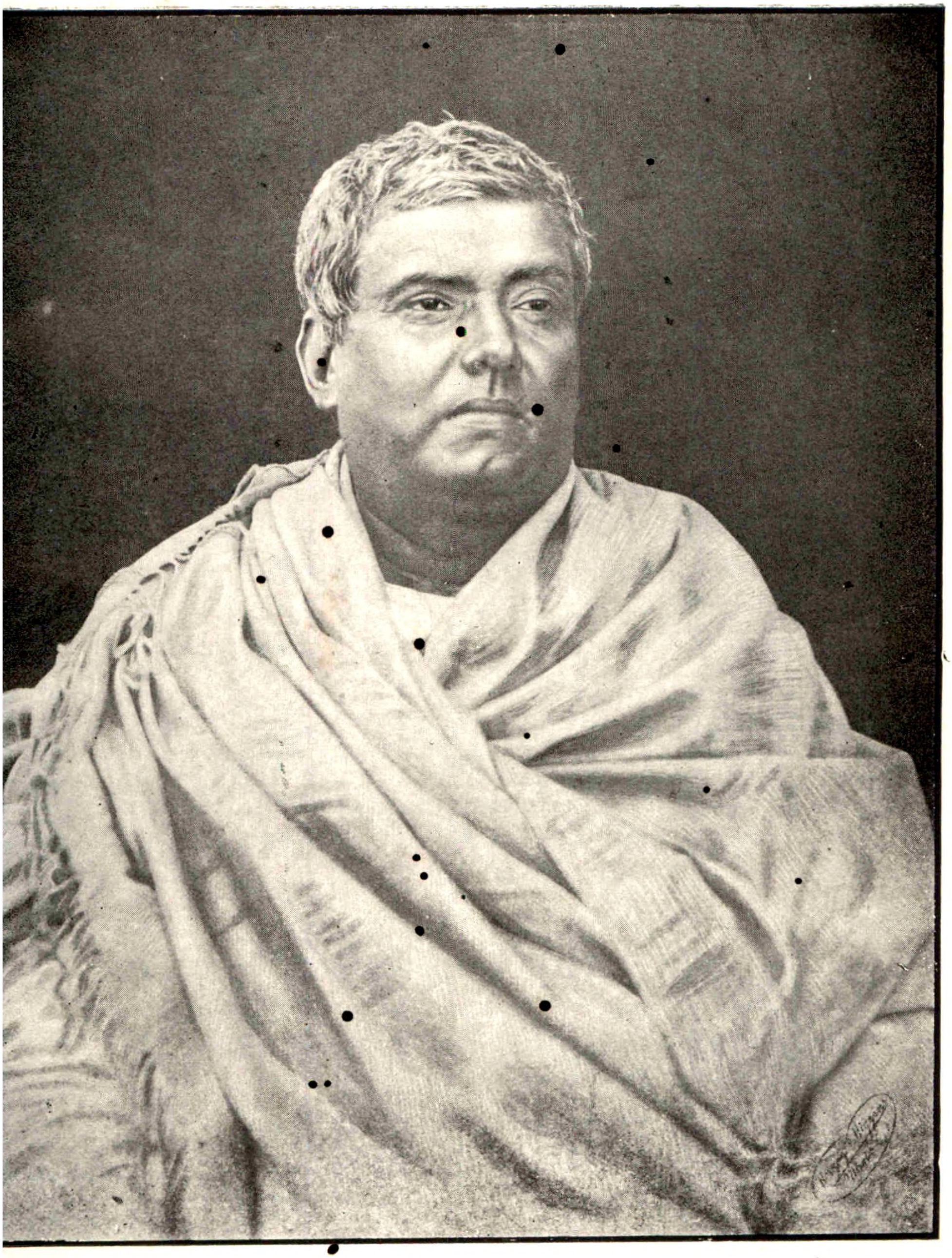
As an immediate corollary to this theorem Asutosh pointed out the relation which connected it with the Theory of conjugate functions (*vide Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1887, pp. 250-251 for a full analysis).

A perusal of this paper (*viii*) published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LVII, Part II, No. 1, 1888, will show the peculiar feature of the young mathematician's treatment of difficult problems, *viz.*, the combination of a great power of generalization with astonishing elegance of treatment.

In connection with this remarkable paper an incident is worthy of note. Asutosh read Mathematics with the late Dr. William Booth, that brilliant but somewhat eccentric Irish Mathematician, the like of whom we shall never see again. Prof. Booth mentioned to Asutosh that Prof. Michael Roberts, in his lectures on Differential equations delivered at the University of Dublin, used to solve Mainardi's Problem by the help of Elliptic Co-ordinates. Asutosh had no opportunity to examine the solution arrived at by Prof. Roberts and it was believed that the solution had never been published. Dr. Booth's mention of it set Asutosh working and he soon found out the results by the help of Elliptic co-ordinates. No wonder Asutosh from being a beloved pupil, in subsequent years, became William Booth's valued friend!

Mr. Mookerjee's paper [(*vi*) above] on Monge's Differential Equation to all Conics, is of outstanding merit. In it he published a challenge to Mathematicians as regards the true geometric interpretation of this famous equation—a challenge which led to a controversy out of which the Indian Mathematician emerged with flying colours. Those who have studied Differential Equations, specially in Boole's work, have come across in the early part of it, the General Differential Equation to lines of the second order, an equation of a formidable character. This Differential Equation was first arrived at by the great French Mathematician Gaspard Monge, Comte de Peluse, in the beginning of the 19th century (1810) and Boole had added the remark:—" But, here our powers of *geometrical interpretation* fail and results such as this can scarcely be otherwise useful than as a *registry of integrable forms*." We shall call this equation 'the Mongian.' Mr. Mookerjee not only dealt with various methods of deriving the Mongian and integrating the same but also showed in a very simple way, the characteristic "permanency of form" of the Mongian and gave a critical review of the geometrical interpretation of the Mongian by such an eminent Mathematician as Prof. Sylvester. He concluded that Sylvester's was not the geometrical interpretation of the Mongian as contemplated by Boole and that what Boole sought for in vain *was yet to be discovered*." This was in 1887. In 1888 Asutosh had solved that problem of the geometrical interpretation of the Mongian!

Since Boole's now historic remark about the failure of our powers of geometrical interpretation of the Mongian, two attempts had been made, one by Lt.-Col. Allan Cunningham, R. E., and the other by Prof. Sylvester to make good the failure. While Cunningham would interpret the Mongian by the proposition that " the eccentricity of the osculating conic of a given conic was constant all round the latter" (*vide Quarterly Journal*, Vol. 14, p. 229), Sylvester would interpret by the proposition that the Differential Equation of a conic was satisfied at the *sextactic* points on any given curve



SIR ASUTOSH'S FATHER—THE LATE DR. GANGAPRASAD MOOKERJEE
DIED DECEMBER 13, 1889

(*vide American Journal of Mathematics*, Vol. 9, pages 18-19).

In paper (x) above Asutosh dealt with the geometrical interpretation of the Differential equation of all parabolas. He began by giving a lucid account of Transon's Theory of aberrancy (*vide* Liouville, tome vi, 1841, pages 191-208) defined Radius and Index, of aberrancy and found analytical expressions for these geometric quantities in connection with the osculating conic at any point on a curve and arrived at the geometric interpretation that the Index of aberrancy vanishes, at *every* point of *every* parabola. These investigations led to his paper (*xi*) in which Asutosh definitely laid down two tests which should be applied if one wished to examine whether a proposed geometrical interpretation of a given Differential Equation was relevant or not. He showed that the geometrical interpretation given by each of the two Mathematicians mentioned above, was not the true interpretation contemplated by Boole. He pointed out that Cunningham's was the geometric interpretation not of the Mongian, but of one of its *first* five integrals which Asutosh actually calculated and that Sylvester's was out of mark as failing to furnish a *property* of the *conic* as would lead to a geometrical quantity which vanishes at *every* point of *every* conic. And Asutosh himself arrived at the following interpretation of the Mongian :—

> "The radius of curvature of the Aberrancy curve vanishes at every point of every conic"

and he showed that it satisfied all the tests which every true geometrical interpretation ought to satisfy. Indeed this was a definite and remarkable achievement for a young Indian Mathematician! The geometric interpretation sought for by Mathematicians for thirty years, *i.e.*, ever since Boole wrote his now famous lines, was at last found by Asutosh and the justice of his criticisms was acknowledged by men like Prof. Arthur Cayley, whom even Sylvester called the High Pontiff among mathematicians! In a letter to Asutosh from Cambridge, dated the 14th September, 1887, Cayley remarked about his criticism of Sylvester's interpretation that "it is of course, all perfectly right." Cunningham wrote, "Professor Asutosh Mukhopadhyay has proposed a really excellent mode of geometric interpretation of differential equations in general, *viz.*, writing the equation in form F = 0, the geometric meaning of the symbol F considered as a *magnitude* (angle, line, area, etc.) in any curve whatever (wherein F is of course not zero), is, if possible, to be formed; then the geometric meaning of that equation obviously is that the quantity F vanishes right round every curve of the family represented by the differential equation. This is the most *direct* geometrical interpretation yet proposed" (*Nature*, Vol. 38, pages 318-319).

As a young Bachelor of Arts, Mr. Mookerjee contributed in 1886 a remarkable note on Elliptic Functions to the *Quarterly Journal of Pure and Applied Mathematics* (paper (*iv*) above). He held that it was desirable that the proof of the well-known Addition theorem for the first kind of the Elliptic integrals should follow directly from the *intrinsic* properties of the Ellipse and he showed how this could be very elegantly effected by means of confocal conics. The note closed with an "imaginary transformation" suggested by his investigation. Prof. Arthur Cayley said, as regards this paper, that it was remarkable how in the investigation of Asutosh, a real result was obtained by the consideration of an imaginary point!

The memoir on Plane Analytical Geometry [(*vii*) above] was dedicated to the beloved memory of Dr. Mookerjee's younger brother Hemantakumar, who induced him to write the memoir. Hemantakumar was the only brother of Sir Asutosh and was bidding fair to tread in the foot-steps of his brilliant brother, when at the early age of 21 he died to the infinite sorrow of his brother and his parents. The originality and breadth of treatment of fundamental topics of analytic geometry in this paper, disclose a master hand. The right line, the Line at Infinity, the circle, the meaning of the constants in the equation of a circle, the geometric meaning of Burnside's well-known equation of a chord, the general equation of the second degree, its transformation, the invariants and covariants of transformation, Laplace's Linear equation to a conic, the meaning of the constants appearing in the same, its application to elliptic motion and geometric interpretation, reciprocal polars and other matters receive a freshness and elegance of treatment from this young mathematician of only 23 years of age, which is simply astonishing !

In addition to these, the pages of the *Educational Times*, London, were enriched for years by his contributions as regards outstanding problems set by great Mathematicians like William Kingdon Clifford, problems which had been set in a manner, as challenges, and had remained unsolved for years. Asutosh's solutions excited our wonder and admiration by their elegance, and at once made it clear that here was a geometer of great power who would, if left untrammelled by other pursuits, win a prominent place among the world's Mathematicians.

So great became the reputation of this brilliant young Mathematician, such was the sterling worth of his researches, that our *Alma Mater* lost no time to enlist his services and although he was only a year ahead of us, he was appointed Examiner in Higher Mathematics for the M.A. Examination along with his teacher Dr. William Booth. I was of the first batch of M.A. candidates who had to face Asutosh's papers. I distinctly recall to mind the consternation I felt at the Senate House, when the paper set by Asutosh on Differential Equations was handed to me. The formidable "Mongian" over which Sylvester had broken a lance with Asutosh, and the La Placean figured in it ! And the M.A. candidates of the year were asked, probably for the first time in the history of the University, to write essays in the Senate Hall, on difficult topics in Analysis! I did the best I could under the circumstances, and I recall with delight and gratitude Sir Asutosh's introducing me to a notable person after I had joined the University, with the words "here is my pupil." Sir Asutosh had not forgotten those early college days when every student with enthusiasm for Mathematical studies, even when it was not accompanied by capacity, at once enlisted his sympathy.

This reminds the writer of a story in regard to Prof. William Thomson, afterwards the famous Lord Kelvin. The father of a new student when bringing him to the University after calling to see the Professor (Thomson) drew his assistant (Macfarlane) to one side and besought him to tell him what his son must do that he might stand well with the Professor. "You want your son to stand weel with the Professor?" asked Macfarlane. "Yes." "Well, then he must have a guid bellyful o' mathematics." We stood "weel" with Asutosh because although we were not "bellyful" of mathematics, we always hungered for more of that delicious diet!

Asutosh was a born Mathematician and we who have been devotees of that bewitching and all-embracing science—cannot but deplore the fact that Sir Asutosh's colossal activities in other spheres of thought and action, have thrown somewhat into the shade this side of his complex character. But his interest in Pure and Applied Mathematics was abiding. His long vacations as a Judge were utilized in the study of the latest developments in certain branches of Analysis. The latest book that he took out of our University Library, to accompany him to Bankipore, was Professor Birkhoff's "Relativity and Modern Physics." Year after year he set papers on such subjects as Quaternions, Differential Equations, the Theory of Numbers, the Lunar and Planetary theories, the Figure of the Earth and the Tidal theories and, by the quality of the papers set, raised the standard of the University teaching in those abstruse subjects. His papers for the Matriculation, the Intermediate and the Degree Examinations were models of what such papers should be and many learnt a great deal from him in the way of setting papers suited to the capacity of the candidate. He would often take upon himself, in the midst of other preoccupations, the arduous task of adjudging theses submitted for the degrees of Doctor of Science and Philosophy, and the Premchand Roychand Studentship. One day he surprised the writer by sending for him and setting him a most recondite problem in Probability. He knew how to inspire young men with real talent, with a zeal for Research. Many such men have since made their mark in the domains of Science and Philosophy and thankfully acknowledge their debt to him.

In 1908 Asutosh founded the Calcutta Mathematical Society which has, under his fostering care and with the labours of a brilliant band of Mathematicians which his genius had brought together and encouraged, achieved an assured position in the Mathematical world.

But it was not Mathematics and Science alone that claimed his attention. Sanskrit and other languages, History, Philosophy, Anthropology, Literature, Economics, Ancient History and Culture, and Experimental Psychology, engaged his active interest. The writer well remembers occasions when he visited Sir Asutosh at his house with business of the University. On one occasion he found him dictating elaborate judicial judgments surrounded by books of legal lore. As soon as he finished these, he took up the University work of a *radically different nature* and soon became absorbed in it. He went through, word by word, a heap of question papers on an infinity of subjects, Mathematics, Physics, English, Sanskrit, Pali, History, Philosophy, Economics, Anthropology, etc., modifying, moderating, correcting and putting each paper into a shape suitable for the intending candidates whose best interests he always upheld. And this was done not only in regard to the lower examinations but also in regard to the highest examinations of the University! So rapid and unerring was his decision, so clear and logical was his mind, so great was his erudition, so remarkable was his power of grasping at once the essentials of a case that the writer often felt, when leaving Sir Asutosh's house, that here was a man, the like of whom he would never see again. For other great mathematicians and philosophers, Gauss the greatest mathematician the world has seen, used the epithets "magnus" or "clarus" or "clarissimus"; for Newton alone he kept the prefix "summus." Among great Indians, we may well reserve the prefix "summus" for Sir Asutosh Mookerjee without fear of contradiction.

A visit to Sir Asutosh at his house and his Library—one of the finest in India, was always a source of delight and inspiration to the writer from his early days. It was there that he found the marvellous man in his work-shop—amidst his books "all in methodical disorder which to the eye of an expert meant work and not mere dilettantism." Like Lord Fletcher Moulton he "loved his world of books and possibly it was his power of leaving his world of work and, taking down some old and loved volume from his shelves, strolling into the pastures of literature, mathematics or science, as the case might be, which enabled him to accomplish a task which would have broken men many years his junior."

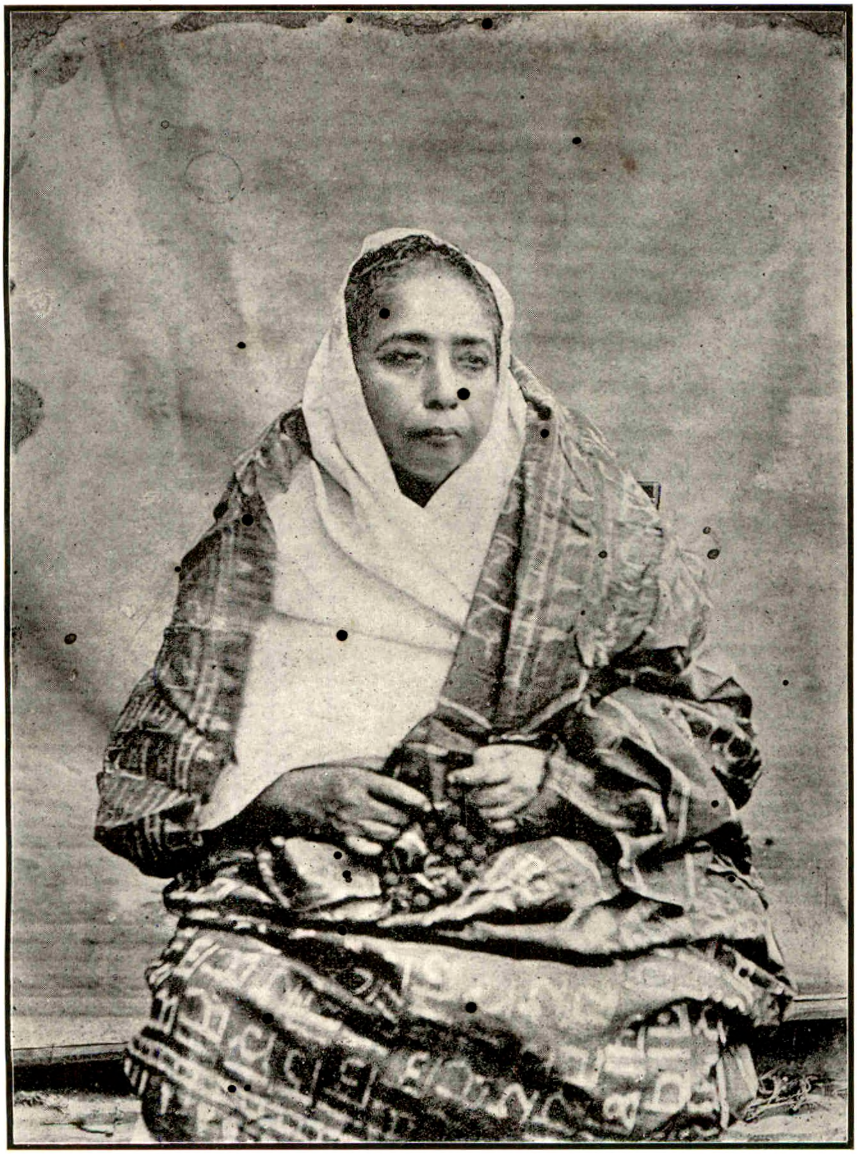
The years now past have only confirmed what we, then students with plenty of idealism in us, thought of the potentialities of the young prodigy—Asutosh. Nearly half a century afterwards we mourn the loss—of a Mathematician, a patron of Mathematical, Scientific and literary ability wherever and in whomsoever found; we mourn the loss of a great jurist, an academician of unrivalled debating power, an organiser and an administrator of the highest type; and above all, of a great gentleman, a noble son of India "to whom we owe," in the words of an appreciative Chancellor of this University, "an unrequitable debt for the manner in which he has breathed upon the smouldering embers of Indian learning and has fanned once more the flame of Oriental philosophy which was once the glory of this ancient land." This was said in reference to the intensive work of the last ten years of his life—the fruition of his long cherished hope to convert an Examining University into a great centre of learning and research—a lasting monument to the strenuous labours of a life nobly lived! An eminent mathematician who on retirement from public service, is carrying on his great researches on a new calculus in his home in England, has recently written : "it was Asutosh's ambition that Calcutta should become a centre of learning and research ; and he understood well how to inspire the enthusiasm of youth, the settled persistence of middle life and the chastened hopes of later years to contribute to this end."

Alas, "the curtain of death has fallen on a grand drama of fame, power and acclamation ;" our beloved master has "set unclouded in the gulf of Fate ;" "yet like the sun he seems larger in his setting." And with the above appreciative famous mathematician who knew Asutosh intimately we deplore that Asutosh's death is "the extinguishing of a source from which radiated encouragement, sympathy and inspiration to all intellectual works of Bengal—of a beacon which showed all India the path-way to honour and greatness."

When we look back upon the work done by this great man, our outlook on life is widened and belief in Divine guidance is confirmed. And looking into the future, in the light gained in an era of outstanding progress of University life and work in India, may we not discern, through all the gloom cast by the recent disaster, a bright prospect greeting our eyes, on all sides fruitful fields of research inviting our labour and promising rich returns.

It is safe to prophesy that the biography of this great man will be written by one who can measure his greatness. The career of Sir Asutosh was in some respects similar to that of the late Lord Justice F. Moulton. Moulton's son has given us a charming biography with a Preface by Lord Birkenhead. Both Asutosh and Moulton began as eminent mathematicians; both became eminent jurists but the crowning work of each lay in fields other than those in which they spent their professional lives. In the case of Lord Moulton, "a judge learned in the Law, at the outbreak of the greatest War in history, is transplanted from the Bench to the Ministry of Munitions, in order to enrich, by his scientific ingenuity, the *destructive* processes of Modern War." In the case of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, a judge also learned in the Law, remained on the Bench but took upon himself the tremendous and stormy but beloved task of the Ministry of Education—of Advancement of Learning, in order to enrich not only by his scientific ingenuity but also by the cream of his noble manhood, the *constructive* processes of modern High Education and culture. It is universally admitted that on the scientific side, Lord Moulton's individual contribution to winning the World War was as great as that of any contemporary Englishman. It is also universally admitted that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's individual contribution to *facilitate* the winning of the war of misunderstanding and prejudice against Advancement of learning, was greater than that of any contemporary Indian. Unlike Moulton, the valiant Indian Knight did not live to see the fight end in victory and we can but regret, as Fletcher Moulton did in his father's case, that Sir Asutosh's talents should have been confined by the limitations of one mortal life; we must remember, however, that 'a mortal is granted but one life; but what he has done in that life may endure and bear fruit through countless generations.' It is with a prayer that this may be our beloved master's reward that I close this inadequate account of some aspects of a marvellous life.

A. C. Bose



SIR ASUTOSH'S MOTHER : DIED APRIL 19, 1914

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

In Sir Asutosh Mookerjee India has lost one of her best sons. His great erudition, his noble effort in the cause of education, his large and varied activities, his amazing capacity for work, his magnetic personality, his unflinching devotion to duty, his high independence of character, his supreme loyalty to his Motherland, his large-heartedness and his even-handed justice were characteristics eminently his own—characteristics which elicited respect and admiration from friends and critics alike.

Although a Hindu of the Hindus, Sir Asutosh had a profound respect for Islamic culture; and it was one of his cherished desires to encourage, as far as lay in his power, the advancement of Islamic studies in the University of Calcutta—his *alma mater* and his first love. For the last few years he had tried to secure a Muhammadan scholar to compile an anthology of Urdu literature, with a view to making it a subject of study in the Calcutta University. The undertaking required funds, but he was not the man to be daunted by such paltry difficulties inspite of the financial straits which the University was then faced with. When asked as to how he proposed to provide money for working out the scheme from the slender resources of the University, he replied: "Leave that to me, I shall beg, borrow or steal but find you money for the work." His great tenacity evidenced in the pursuit of a purpose, was one of the traits of his character.

It is said that no one is indispensable in this world—This is a truism which for once ceases to be a truism; for there are scores of institutions in this country which will find it well nigh impossible to replace the departed spirit which engendered all that was high and worthy in Bengal. Not only in the University of Calcutta, but in most of the learned bodies of the country, he has left the impress of his great personality which will endure for some time to come. Although a great patron of learning, yet in the realm of intellect, class or creed was no bar to his favour.

It would be sheer presumption to dilate on his legal lore; but it can be said without the least fear of contradiction, that no non-Moslem Judge of an Indian High Court, possessed such a profound knowledge of the practice and principles of Mussalman law.

During the stress and strain of the non-co-operation agitation it was his personal influence with the student community of Bengal that saved the situation and the Calcutta University from complete extinction. He persistently followed a constructive policy; his watchword being "Progress," destruction—ruthless destruction, had no place in his programme. For all these qualities of head and heart Sir Asutosh richly deserves a place in the Valhalla of India.

Great men like Sir Asutosh Mookerjee do not stand in need of lasting memorials to perpetuate their memory. Their noble deeds form a monument far richer and worthier than any which human agency erects over hallowed remains.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI

SIR ASUTOSH AND THE UNIVERSITY LAW COLLEGE

It is difficult to realise that the great architect, the master mind that built up this noble institution and made the University what it is to-day, is no more. Death is always sad and is doubly so when it is sudden and unexpected. In Sir Asutosh's case it has been terribly tragic. Away from hearth and home,—from the bosom of his family and friends and even without the bed-side comforts and attentions that would have been lavished upon him here, he has died at Patna all on a sudden when in the fullest vigour of health and spirits. There is this consolation, however, poor though it be, that the manner of his death, his exit was in keeping with the mode of his life. To him work was the very breath of his nostrils and he died like the soldier at his post while engaged as an advocate in the midst of a most strenuous work connected with one of the biggest cases that ever came up before an Indian tribunal. But, as I have said, it is but a very poor consolation and the whole country lies to-day prostrate with grief. The loss to the country and to the nation is simply irreparable; and so far as the University is concerned its loss can never be adequately expressed in words. As Sir Lancelot Sanderson, the Chief Justice said, it is difficult to imagine what will be the fate of the Calcutta University in the absence of Sir Asutosh. I need hardly dwell on the manifold virtues of his head and heart, for no words of mine can do even the scantiest justice to the worth of this extraordinary man. His versatile genius, keen intellect, encyclopædic knowledge, profound scholarship, legal learning, marvellous memory, extraordinary administrative and organising powers, quick appreciation of worth in others, and above all his fearless independence and intense patriotism and love of country combined with a child-like simplicity of manners, an amiable, affectionate and kindly disposition made him a unique personality rare in any country. He was known as the Bengal Tiger. Yes, he was that, but, withal, a lamb too. Under his rough exterior there beat a most warm and sympathetic heart. By nature and temperament he was kind, affectionate, simple and unassuming, a warm and sincere friend, one that would have freely and gladly poured out his life-blood for the good of his country and specially of its youngmen. In a word, he was gentle and loveable as a lamb, but under stress of circumstances, if there was need for it, he could be terrible as the Bengal Tiger or the lion rampant. Such a man we have lost. It seems to be only the other day when in the Convocation Speech I think, of 1909, he briefly described his scheme for the foundation of this Law College for teaching law as a science; when he quoted the words of a great jurist that law was neither a trade nor a solemn jugglery but a living science, when he held up a high ideal for both professors and pupils and called upon them to co-operate together for raising the standard of legal training in this country, and, I think we can best satisfy his spirit which will be anxiously watching over the interest of the University from on high, if we all combine to carry out his wishes to the best of our power and ability and try to make the University Law College an ideal institution for the study of law.

JYOTIPRASAD SARVADHIKARI

SIR ASUTOSH AND THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY

The Punjab University had the pleasure and stimulus of an address from the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee at its Convocation for the conferring of degrees in January, 1922. His speech was an epitome of himself, of his wise and lofty patriotism, of his conviction of the purifying and humanising influences of the University, as it might and may be, and of the ripe practical wisdom which saves a man from losing the realisation of security for his next step in the vision of an ideal future. His great voice and the ringing laugh, the long roll of his eloquence, the bright and commanding eye, brought home to us the forces of that energy which conveyed such vitalising influences to the Calcutta University.

H. J. MAYNARD

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

I have heard Members of the Bar speak in terms of the highest admiration of the learning and independence which marked Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's judgments from the Bench of the Calcutta High Court. But his chief claim to greatness and gratitude of the Indian public lies in the impetus he gave to education by the improvements he brought about in the University of Calcutta.

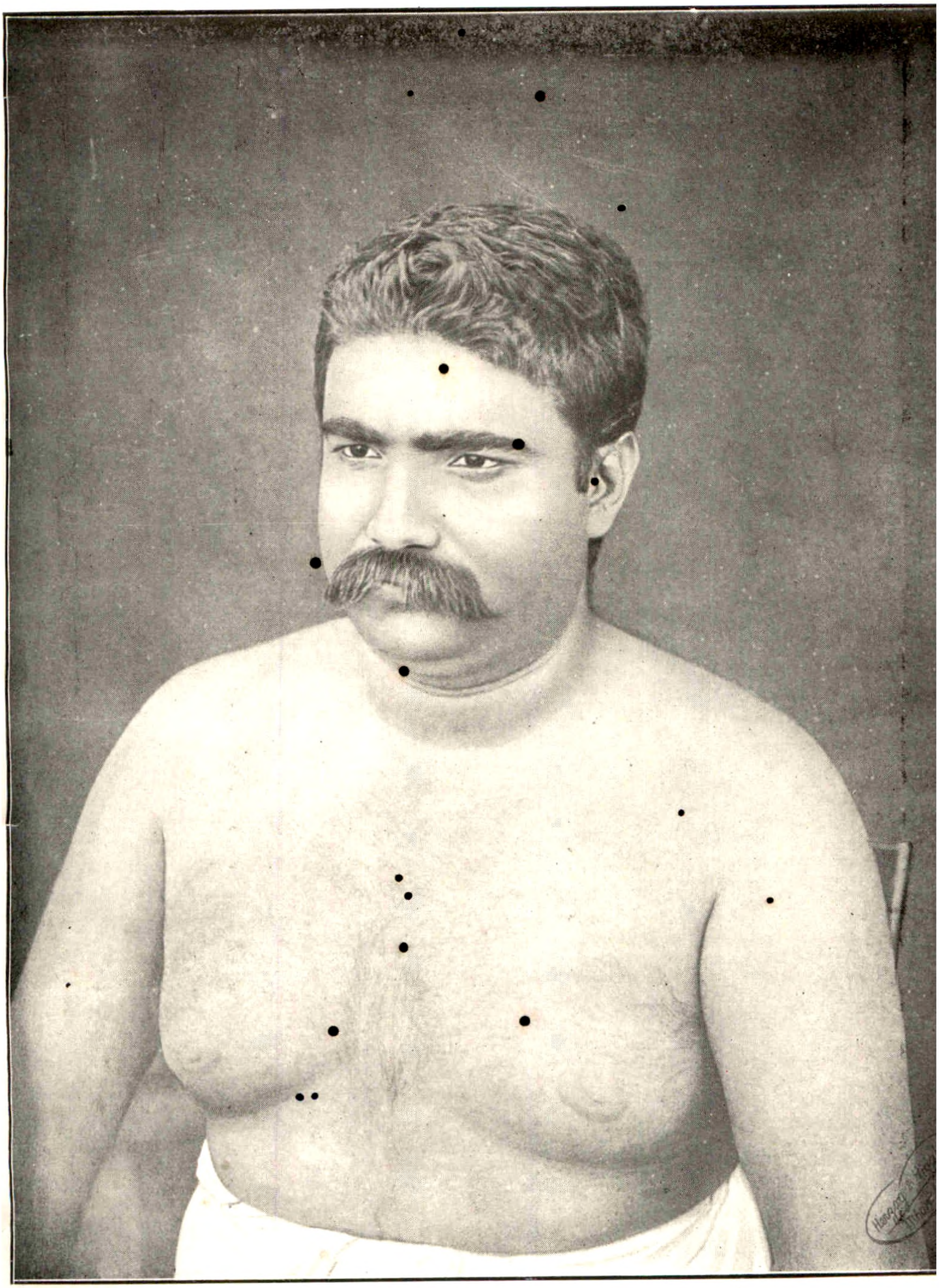
By sheer weight of ability and force of character, he was able to get control of the affairs of that University and, having got control, he invited the best men from all parts of India to take part in its research and teaching work. As a result, the Calcutta University has risen to the leading place among Indian Universities in respect of instruction in science and scientific research.

Endowed with a massive intellect and dogged determination, he was a great fighter and showed splendid courage in emergencies. His reading was extensive and in private life he was a genial host and a most charming conversationalist. As the leading Indian educationist, his advice was sought for, from far and wide, on questions of University reform. In 1918, he honoured the Mysore University by delivering its first Convocation address. It will be long before the void he has left behind in Indian public life is filled again.

M. VISVESARAYA

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

I have been asked by the Secretary to the Board of Editors of the *Calcutta Review* to contribute my impressions of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, to the special memorial number of the *Calcutta Review*. Though my acquaintance with him goes back to a period of twenty years, my opportunities for contact with him were limited by distance. The first time we in Madras heard mention of the name of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was when he received his doctor's degree at the Convocation of the Calcutta University and a tribute was paid to his versatility of talents and to his varied accomplishments by the then Vice-Chancellor Sir Gooroodas Banerjea. The first time I saw him was in the year 1902 during my visit to Calcutta. He had made a mark in the bar and had already begun to take a prominent part in the life of the Calcutta University. The Universities Commission which had been appointed by Lord Curzon to tour round the country created much interest and not a little suspicion in the minds of the educated public. Distinguished as Lord Curzon was for his ability and devotion to work and his love of administrative perfection, he was believed to be unfriendly to the aspirations of the educated classes and it was thought that his real object was to check the spread of university education which had produced an educated proletariat with a special propensity to criticism of the Government. There were two schools of thought contending for mastery, one believing in the expansion of education even at a sacrifice of quality and the other in an improvement of quality even at the expense of quantity. There was much to be said in favour of both sides. Inspite of all its defects, the existing system of university education had done a great deal to break down ignorance and open the avenues of Western knowledge and culture and implant in the minds of the people the seeds of political liberty and social reform and a desire for progress. It is needless to say, that Lord Curzon was an advocate of quality and that the Indian public generally was in favour of a rapid expansion. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee threw himself into the struggle as a champion of the Indian view and when the University Bill came on for discussion in the Legislative Council, he was the protagonist of that view. Lord Curzon succeeded in carrying out his Bill inspite of all the opposition. Looking back at the Universities' Bill after the lapse of twenty years, the apprehensions entertained at the time, of its effect upon the growth of university education seem to have been needlessly alarmist. Soon after the Bill was passed, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was appointed to the High Court Bench and also to the Vice-Chancellorship of the University. Both the appointments were a fitting recognition of his merits, of his abilities as a lawyer on the one hand and of his fervid interest in university education on the other. From this time forward down to the day of his death, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was the guiding spirit of the Calcutta University, or rather its life and soul. The current of his energies flowed in two main channels; the channel of law and justice and the channel of higher education. In ability, erudition and strong commonsense, he was easily the foremost among the judges of the Indian High Courts at the time of his retirement. The days of English judges who were great jurists and who made marked contributions to the growth of law were probably gone for ever in India. Men like Sir James Colville, Sir Barnes Peacock in Bengal, Sir Michael Westrop and Sir Raymond West in Bombay, Sir Charles Turner and Mr. Justice Holloway in Madras can no longer be found on the Benches of the High Courts in India. Indians have displayed a remarkable aptitude for judicial work, and the foremost Indian judges of our High Courts have proved themselves the equals of the best judges in India or in England. If we wish to appraise the merits of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, he must be tried, as he himself would have wished,



SIR ASUTOSH IN HIS 24TH YEAR
MAY 18, 1888

by the very highest standards of the most distinguished judges in this country. It would be doing him poor justice to institute a comparison between him and the rank and file of the judges of our rather crowded High Court Benches at the present day. The standard which I should like to apply to him is that of the most eminent Indian judges, who have adorned our High Courts, of Dwarkanath Mitter in Calcutta, of Sir T. Muthuswamy Iyer, Sir V. Bhashiyam Iyengar and Sir S. Subrahmania Iyer in Madras, of Syed Mahmood in Allahabad and of Kashinath Trimbuck Telang in Bombay. The two great characteristics of Sir Asutosh as a lawyer were his vast learning and his prodigious industry. He was not content to confine his search for principles to the usual repertories of Indian or English decisions. His quest for principles took him far a field to the decisions of the American Courts not merely of the Supreme Court of the United States, but also of the State Courts and to the decisions of the highest courts of the Colonies. The habit of turning for light to American case-law and jurisprudence, was first started in India by Sir S. Subrahmania Iyer. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee improved upon his example and revelled in the citation of American authorities, a practice which, however valuable within limits, is beset with some danger in the hands of less discriminating followers. Sir Asutosh had not the originality of thought and the subtlety and circumspection of Sir V. Bhashiyam Iyengar, the love of logical analysis, of historical exposition and the weighty diction which distinguished Sir T. Muthuswamy Iyer, the cultured grace of Mr. Telang, the vigour and eloquence of Sir Subrahmania Iyer and Syed Mahmood, or the legal subtlety and literary charm of Sir Rash Bihari Ghose. It may, of course, be said that the time spent by him in the collection of authorities left him too little time for the cultivation of quality. It may also be stated that no other judge in India had so many varied interests making such enormous demands upon his time. He was undoubtedly a man of massive intellect and robust commonsense who loved law keenly and was fired by the ambition to contribute to the development of law, an ambition which should animate every great lawyer and judge.

It is said that the law is a jealous mistress. It is also unfortunately the fact that many lawyers are so exclusively the votaries of law that they have no secondary interests in life. The tendency to narrow-mindedness which is a result of this exclusive devotion to law is perhaps a more marked characteristic of Indian lawyers than of English lawyers. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee never gave undivided allegiance to law. His predominant interest in life was the cause of higher education. The history of the Calcutta University during the last quarter of a century is practically the history of the educational activities of Sir Asutosh. To his *alma mater*, he gave his time and energies without stint. The welfare and the development of the University occupied his thoughts and perhaps his dreams during his life. There were persons in the University who were jealous of his pre-eminence; there were persons in the University who chafed under his domineering ways; there were persons who believed that the University was becoming too much of an one-man show for healthy corporate life; and there were persons who were often displeased, rightly or wrongly, by his distribution of patronage. The elements of discontent often gathered to a head, and tried to assert themselves against the domination of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Viceroys and Governors tried to overthrow him but ever and anon, he emerged in triumph from the conflict and his position of ascendancy remained unshaken. Perhaps the closest parallel in public life to the influence of Sir Asutosh in the Calcutta University was the ascendancy of Sir Pheroze Shaw Mehta in the Corporation of Bombay. Both were keen controversialists and formidable debaters and shrewd judges of men. If Sir Asutosh had not been a judge, he would have been a politician of the first rank like Sir Pheroze

Shaw Mehta. Of his many achievements in the University, the University College of Science in Calcutta is and will be the most abiding monument to Sir Asutosh's love of his *alma mater*, his breadth of outlook and his far-sighted patriotism. No narrow feeling of provincialism ever found an echo in his breast. He was anxious that the Calcutta University should set the example of stimulating research and contributing to the advancement of knowledge and in the attainment of this end he was anxious to draw the best of Indian talents where-ever they may be found, in whichever corner of any province of India. He was favoured by fortune in being able to address his appeal to munificent and enlightened patrons of learning like Sir Rash Bihari Ghose and Sir Tarakanath Palit. The Bengali song of *Bande Mātaram* never met a more generous response than in the breast of this true son of the University. His ideal of a University was entirely in accord with the highest standards of the present time. He set great store by the freedom of the university from official control. In striving to maintain the independence of the University, he acted with his usual fearlessness and the controversy he carried on with the Government was waged with bitterness and even at the sacrifice of decorum. He loved a combat and if any one had the temerity to challenge him to a fight, he was prepared to fight to the finish. No one who came in contact with him or watched his activities could fail to be struck by his quick and capacious intellect or indomitable energy and unflagging zeal. When I once remarked to him that he was killing himself by his judicial work, he laughingly replied that it was only a small portion of his work and that his duties as Vice-Chancellor which included the supervision of hundreds of high schools was at least as exacting. He told me also that in connection with some question of Mahomedan law which arose in a case, he was trying to learn Arabic so that he might consult the original texts. In a land which has produced many great men Sir Asutosh was a towering personality even if he did not reach the height of some of the greatest men of Bengal. It is too early to anticipate the verdict of history upon his career but I am inclined to think that of his many claims to distinction posterity will set the highest value upon his work as an organiser of University education.

P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

(*An Appreciation*).

It was somewhere in 1890 or 1891 that I first saw Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. I saw him at Bankipore where he had gone to see my father on some private business of his own. A mere school boy then—I had only a distant vision of him. But I well remember the hushed awe in which my town's folk spoke of Dr. Mookerjee, as he then was. Evidently the popular eye even then beheld in him the coming man, the man of destiny. This is the earliest recollection that I have of the late Sir Asutosh. In 1901, when I joined the Calcutta Bar, my acquaintance really began with him. It soon deepened into affection, and the succeeding years strengthened and mellowed it. What irresistibly drew me to him was his consuming passion for books and immense enthusiasm for learning. Our tastes were similar—our Temple of Worship—the Temple of Minerva—the same. Distinctly, as though it took place but yesterday, I remember my first interview with him at his house in Bhawanipur. He gave me a cordial reception. He took me over his library. He showed me his collection, rich in rare and select books. He spoke of the romance of book-collecting; the good-luck that occasionally awaited the lover of books. It was a delightful meeting—the first of the many that we have had since. His library was a monument of his catholic taste. Every branch of learning was represented there; every book of mark had a place on his shelf. I was enthralled by him. And who would not be? His easy manners, his disarming candour, his liberal sympathies, his encouraging counsel—such an assemblage of qualities—would they fail to make a friend or appease a foe? One incident connected with my first meeting with Sir Asutosh should not be omitted. He pointed out *Howell's State Trials*, and recommended its careful study to me, I asked for the loan of a volume. With a smile he told me—he never lent books; but immediately added that in my case he would break the rule. The volume found its way to my house and contributed to many hours of unfailing delight. I was one of the few exceptions to whom he lent his books. The last loan was the loan of the 4th volume of 'the Cambridge Medieval History' which he especially took for me from Calcutta to Patna, last April, to enable me to study the chapter on Byzantine Law and Administration. As the years went by I came into closer and closer contact with him. His interest in me and my work grew, and I am not exaggerating when I say that but for his kindly interest my literary and historical work would have ended years ago for sheer want of sympathy and encouragement. His death—besides being a deep personal loss to me—is a blow to Islamic culture in Bengal. But of this later.

On my return from Dacca Sir Asutosh appointed me a lecturer at the Law College. I may be permitted here to repeat, in this connection, a story which is in circulation and which needs correction. I was given morning classes which began from 9-30 and continued till 11 a.m. The hours did not quite fit in with the Court hours; as Court work, *then*, began at 10 a.m. precisely. With the complete concurrence of my students I altered the hour from 9·30 to 7 a.m. I was satisfied, and so were my students; but the authorities of the Law College were evidently not. I held my classes at the altered hours, for a few days, and the matter was duly reported to Sir Asutosh. I was, accordingly, summoned to his Chambers, at the High Court. At 2 p.m. I made my way in fear and trembling. I quailed, at the prospect, of the storm that I had to face, but face it I must. I entered the room and I could see the great man somewhat ruffled in temper. "So you have become the king of the Law College", said he, in an angry tone. "Yes", rejoined I, "and you are the king-maker." He smiled; he gently rebuked me and sent me away saying

'Go thy way and sin no more.' Thus was averted one of the greatest of calamities. But this was not the only report that was made against me. Mine has always been the unenviable lot of possessing innumerable *friends*, who make it their business to harm me. In this, their generous effort, they have never remained idle or slow. But —however successful in other quarters—they failed with Sir Asutosh.

I shall not obtrude any more personal matters here.

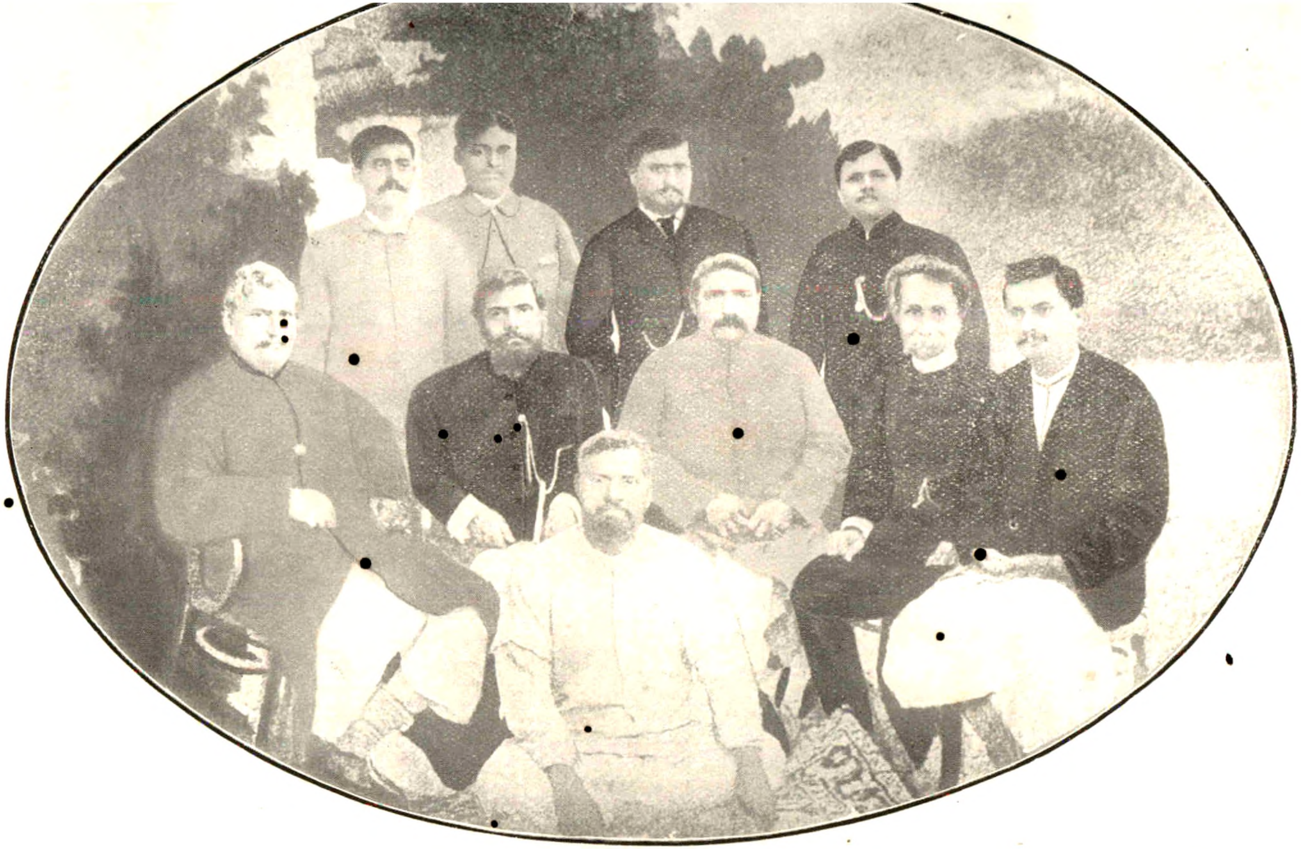
What, might be asked, was the secret of Sir Asutosh's greatness? Lord Bacon has truly said: "The nobler a soul is, the more object of compassion it hath." Compassion then was the striking note of his personality. He knew 'the chains of ill' that bind our lives. To the suffering he brought relief; to the wounded spirit, words of assuagement and of peace and to all—loving-kindness. Never was an appeal for help made in vain! Never was a judgment passed untempered by mercy. And next to compassion was his wondrous insight into human character. He read a man at sight. He took his measure, and he dealt with him accordingly. Many a morning I have sat and watched Sir Asutosh dealing with men, and many a lesson in wisdom I have learnt there.

Pride he had none. Simple, unostentatious were his ways; and lightly, like a flower, did he wear his learning—and immense learning too. He never showed impatience or displeasure at the unceasing stream of visitors at his house or at their not infrequently absurd demands. Here we have the secret of his greatness.

When I met him on the 3rd of May at the Burdwan Station—the Punjab mail was late by two hours; and, providentially for my benefit, I found him happy, radiant, full of plans for future work. Little did I dream then that that would be my very last meeting with him. But so it was to be. His death—so tragical in its suddenness—has plunged not only Bengal but the whole of India into deep, unrelieved gloom. By far the greatest Indian has passed into the shade, and keener and acuter becomes our grief when we remember that just at the moment when his presence, his guiding hand, his towering intellect, his forceful personality were needed most—fate should take him away from us. It was but yesterday that he said farewell to the High Court—of which he was a most distinguished ornament—and, when he laid down the staff of his high office, we felt an inward thrill that his great powers would now seek and find a larger field of activity and a wider scope for beneficent work than the Bench offered. Our mental vision pictured Sir Asutosh at the head of public life in Bengal—controlling the exuberance of the idealist, infusing courage in the weak and faint-hearted, leading the battle for truth and justice and freedom. But time—which usually turns our hopes into derision—has wrecked our dream. But not even Time and Death can take his gifts away from us. Well might we say: "still are thy pleasant voices, thy nightingales, awake; For Death he taketh all away, but them he cannot take." The greatest and the most enduring gift is the University itself; for has he not liberalised it, reformed it, and made it a true centre of light and lore, of research and advancement of Learning. For this he toiled incessantly, never wearying, never resting, battling with all his might, and standing four-square to all the winds that blew.

The Post-Graduate classes are the flower and fruit of his noble, unsparing efforts. Do they not claim all knowledge as their province—its diffusion their sole reason for existence? He insisted, inculcated, emphasized that a University was not a place where commercial interests should ever come into play, and that its one supreme object was to hold aloft the torch of learning—cost what it might.

But if he was never tired of reiterating the true functions of a University—he taught, in no uncertain voice, another lesson of deepest and profoundest import. It was a noble



SIR ASUTOSH AT BUXAR DURING TOTAL SOLAR ECLIPSE, JUNE 22, 1898

Standing—Biraj M. Majumdar, Bose, C. C. Ghose and S. Mitra

Sitting—Ramendrasundar Trivedi, P. N. Sen, Asutosh Mookerjee, Gooroodas Banerjee, S. Mitra, Bhupendra N. Basu *(in front)* lesson—a lesson taught by the noblest men in all ages—namely, Love of Freedom. For no true progress can there be where there is no Freedom—freedom from the shackles of priestcraft; freedom from the bondage of superstition; freedom from the fetters of authority—secular or otherwise. Naught but an emancipated intellect can seek, strive and achieve. No power could bend him to submission; no glittering gewgaw could lead him away from the path of duty. There is one branch of learning which owes a special debt to him—it is the Islamic learning—and at it his death has dealt the heaviest blow. He saw the importance of Muslim Culture, and he sought to bring it within reach of the educated public. He introduced Islamic history into the Calcutta University, and in a thousand and one ways encouraged Islamic studies. He encouraged the translation of such monumental works as those of Von Kremer, Weil and Wellhausen, and eagerly undertook their publication. This meant another step forward towards the advancement of Islamic studies. He had yet more extensive schemes for the furtherance of Mohamedan learning, and many an evening after the day's work was done—he and I sat together at Patna discussing the future of Mohamedan studies at this University. His last speech at the Behar and Orissa Research Society will convey some idea of the work he was contemplating in that direction. He aimed at making the Calcutta University the Centre of Mohamedan Studies in Bengal. He hoped to gather here not only Indian Scholars of note but also European Scholars of renown. I was asked to invite Prof. Browne, on behalf of this University, to deliver a course of lectures on Persian Poetry. I was further asked to invite Prof. Harowitz of Frankfurt to deliver a course of lectures on Arab Civilization. He was anxious, too, for a course of lectures on the system of Administration of Justice in Islam, and so keenly interested was he that, in spite of the heavy strain of work at Patna, he discussed the entire plan of the lectures with me. I am proud to say that in my possession I have the title page of the contemplated lectures, written in his own hand—a memorial of his love for Islamic Studies and a remembrancer of his wish to me—now a sacred duty and a trust which I must need fulfil.

In him a great light has gone out. Whatever differences of opinion there may be on other points, there will be none in this, that Sir Asutosh (to quote the language of a great writer) made great spaces in human destiny very luminous.

But though sore is our grief and irreparable our loss—we can yet serve the great master by following in his footsteps—trying as best we can to live up to his ideals—fighting for freedom, seeking for light.

I shall conclude with what I said at the Senate House: "Courage was his watchword, Freedom his guide. Let these be also our watchword and our guide."

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE: IN MEMORIAM

While we were having a meeting of the Executive Council of the University, the mournful news came that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was no more. We were staggered at the suddenness of the blow and overwhelmed with grief at the enormity of the loss. We immediately sent a telegraphic message to the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University conveying our profound sense of loss at the passing away of our greatest educationist, the creator of the modern Calcutta University with its great and unique organisation for post-graduate teaching and research.

I had heard of Sir Asutosh's brilliant University career, especially as a mathematician, but I came to know him personally, when in January, 1904, he took his seat as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council. The Universities Bill had just then been introduced and immediately on his taking his seat, he was placed on its Select Committee. He had already established a reputation as an expert in University matters. Mr. Gokhale was already on it. They shared between them the task of voicing Indian views and representing Indian interests. Mr. Gokhale's standpoint was somewhat different from Sir Asutosh's. Both united in opposing what they agreed in thinking were reactionary provisions of the Bill and most of us followed their lead. But while the former saw nothing good in the measure, the latter thought it was an advance on the then existing law and deserved a trial. As was pointed out by Mr. Raleigh, the member in charge, the Bill as it had emerged out of the Select Committee, was "in large part his (Sir Asutosh's) work." All other considerations apart, in it was embodied his ideal of a University as set forth below; "A University is a Corporation of teachers and students banded together for the pursuit of learning and the increase of knowledge, duly housed and fitly endowed, to meet the demands raised in the achievements of its purposes. In its establishment, the amplest powers that wisdom can suggest should be conferred upon it. In working out its intellectual salvation, the exercise of those powers should be vested in select bodies of fit persons, sufficiently small in number to be efficient, yet large enough in number to prevent degeneration into an intellectual clique, changing sufficiently from time to time to prevent the dominance of merely personal policies, and representative enough to be in touch alike with the experience of the past and with aspirations for the future." And though not wholly successful in his efforts to attain this ideal, he was prepared to allow the great experiment to have a full and fair trial.

After the Bill was passed into law, it became the duty of the Calcutta University to prepare in compliance with the provisions of Section 26 of the Act a revised set of regulations, providing for all matters relating to the University within one year after the commencement of the Act. This duty it failed to discharge, even after an extension of time had been granted. The Government of India accordingly appointed Sir Asutosh as Vice-Chancellor and with him as President a Committee was constituted to prepare the necessary regulations. With his great driving force behind it, a complete body of regulations dealing in ample detail with all matters relating to the University was prepared by his Committee within three months of its constitution. So thorough and satisfactory was the work that the draft was sanctioned in the precise form in which it had left the hands of the Committee. But, as pointed out in the Government resolution, this was merely a starting point of the extension and progressive development of University education. The regulations provided the machinery for reform but the most difficult work of putting the machinery in motion still remained to be done. And to this great task Sir Asutosh now consecrated his unrivalled ability, industry and judgment. Whether, as Mr. Gokhale believed at the time, the Act was a sinister attempt to paralyse higher education, the fact remains that owing entirely to the wonderful organising capacity and the creative genius of Sir Asutosh, it was made to yield results which have transformed the Calcutta University into the most distinguished institution in the whole of India for the advancement of learning, the promotion of research and the fostering of collegiate life. The work of his post-graduate students has found recognition in the European Scientific and Literary world. How this great work was accomplished within fifteen years of his placing himself at the helm is best told in his own words:

"For years now, every hour, every minute, I could spare from other unavoidable duties, foremost among them the duties of my judicial office, has been devoted to the University work. Schemes to heighten the efficiency of the University have been the subject of my day dreams, into which even a busy man lapses from time to time; they have haunted me in the hours of nightly rest. To University concerns, I have sacrificed all chances of study and research, possibly to some extent, the interests of family and friends, and certainly, I regret to say, a good part of health and vitality."

As a reward for all this self-sacrifice and devotion, he had the satisfaction of seeing two of his graduates secure that most coveted honour, the Fellowship of the Royal Society. Several of them occupy now high positions in the newly created Universities of Dacca, Patna, Benares and Lucknow. Allahabad also has not failed to avail itself of the *alumni* of Sir Asutosh's institutions. Sir Michael Sadler, President of the University Commission, said of Sir Asutosh that he had hardly met any distinguished educationist in any part of the world who could equal Sir Asutosh in information regarding educational affairs and the ideals of different Universities of the world.

A comprehensive scheme for the housing and superintendence of the Calcutta collegiate student population numbering thousands and reform of legal education have gone hand in hand with the creation of the teaching University of Calcutta. The Vernacular of the Province received under him an impetus to which there is nothing to compare since the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The Bengalee Literature has a Chair in the University and it is a compulsory subject up to the degree of Bachelor of Arts and Science. Private liberality, which has enabled much of this work to be done, has flowed in a copious fertilising stream under his magic influence.

Angry controversies have raged round Sir Asutosh's post-graduate teaching arrangements. He was accused of "thoughtless expansion" of this one department to the starving of other departments. Whether the financial difficulties were the result of this expansion, or of the failure of the Government to redeem its promise to help the University, it is beyond my function to discuss. But to the courage, energy and enthusiasm and high purpose which characterised Sir Asutosh's activities in the midst of these depressing surroundings, all must pay their homage. Nor can the fact be gainsaid that the work has been of an extraordinary character. Those who desire to have an idea how really extraordinary it is, should read Sir Asutosh's illuminating annual reports. He justified the staff entertained thus:

"We maintain a distinguished staff not solely with a view to communicate the existing knowledge to our young men but also to expand the boundaries of the domain of knowledge. We adopt as our motto—Search for the truth is the noblest occupation of man; its publication a paramount duty."

A word about the College of Science will not be out of place here. In this connection Sir Asutosh once said, "We have struggled for more than seven years to establish a University College of Science and Technology, which shall be the pride not of Bengal alone, but of all India. Two of the noblest of my conntrymen have been unstinted in their liberality in the furtherance of this cause." And despite difficulties, which at one time seemed insurmountable, the College was soon an accomplished fact and now under the direction of that saintly Scientist, Dr. P. C. Roy, who in the evening of his life, when men seek for rest and repose, has preferred to devote his unrivalled knowledge and experience to guide the progress of this great national institution, it has by its beneficent work already achieved, fully justified the wisdom and foresight of its founder. It has brought forth a band of highly trained and enthusiastic investigators, who under Dr. Roy's inspiration and guidance have been able to create an Indian School of Chemical Research, whose theses find honoured place in recognised scientific journals of Europe. Given the necessary funds and opportunities, the potentialities of good of this great institution are immeasurable.

Regarding the importance of higher teaching and research in the intellectual development of a nation, I quote the following eloquent words of Sir Asutosh: "No nation attained to real eminence as a Nation, unless they maintained in a state of the highest efficiency and excellence their Chief Seat of learning, their most potent instrument for the discovery and dissemination of truth in all departments of human activity." "Whatever detractors may proclaim, the fact remains that the University of Calcutta, at the present moment, possesses a teaching organisation which notwithstanding its deficiencies, is engaged in the performance of a work of highest importance to the State."

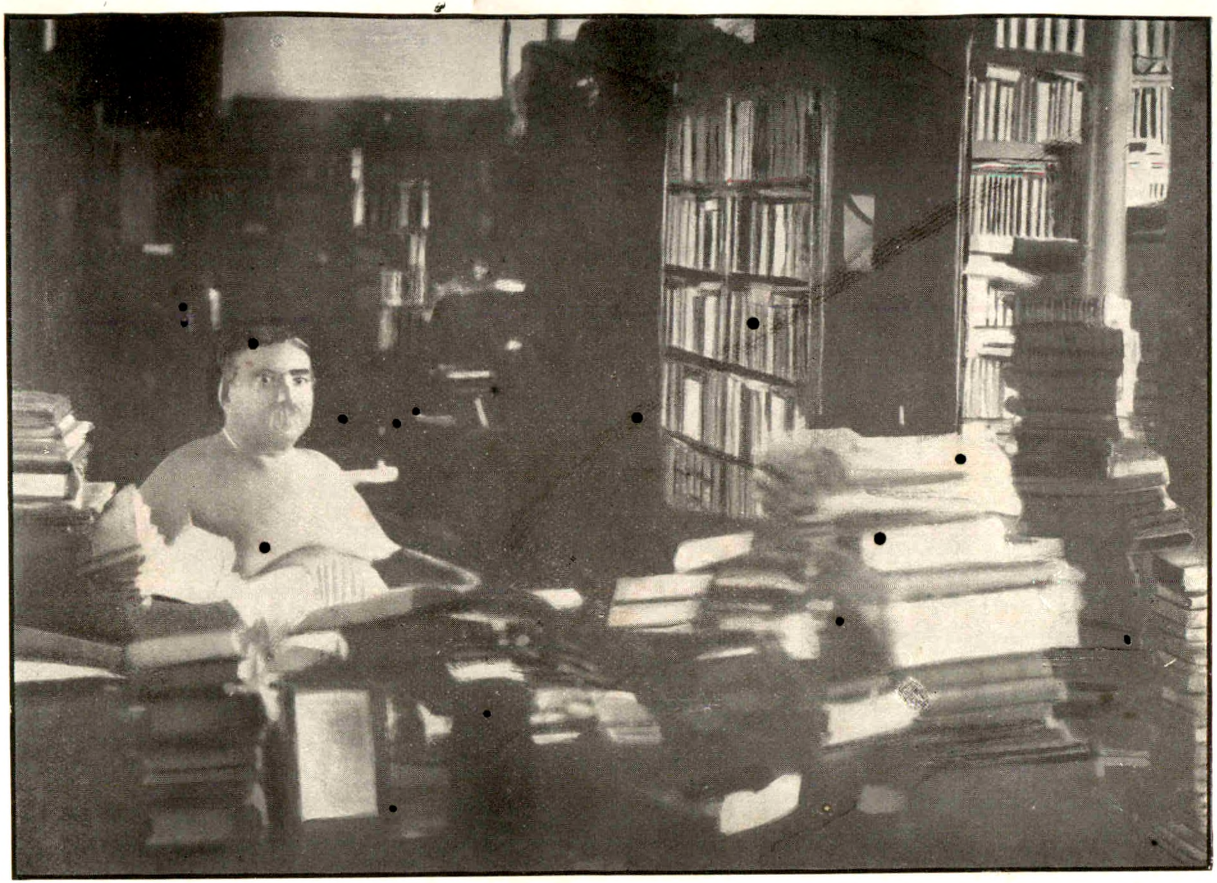
Sir Asutosh's profound and encyclopædic knowledge of law, his power of clear, concise and accurate expression and skilful marshalling of facts have made his important judgments masterpieces of their kind and it has been rightly said that some of them have become classical. He will, without question, always rank as one of our greatest judges. A great educationist, a great lawyer, this is a rare combination.

Sir Asutosh lived a life of our ancient *rishi*-like simplicity. For years he attended public functions in his national *dhoti*. He sat on the Sadler Commission in his national dress and travelled all over India in that dress.

He was deeply religious. But his religion lay in the performance of duty, but not in the ordinary sense. As our immortal *Gita* has sung, duty must be performed for its own sake and not for its fruits. Renunciation of the furits of action was the moving force of all his public activities and it was this that endowed him with his fearless independence and undaunted courage.

And now a nation is mourning for the loss of one of its noblest sons. It is a cruel irony of fate that while yet in the zenith of his high intellectual gifts and while engaged in maturing far-reaching plans for the betterment of his countrymen, the inevitable hand of death should at one stroke put an end to that vast accumulations of a life of great toil and strenuous pursuit of high aims. With a heart that never failed, with a courage that never faltered, he fought the great fight of University Reform amidst obloquy and opposition under which a lesser man than he would have gone down.

The intensity and the extent of the loss to the University can but be imperfectly realised yet. The more one reflects on the space Sir Asutosh filled in the University, on what he was, on what he stood for, on what he did and what he contemplated doing, when he was suddenly called away, the more is one filled with despair at the void that has been caused. There is one consolation, however. The inspiration of a divinely gifted life like his can never die. True, the vital spark is gone, the virile voice is still but the legacies of his great deeds are still for us to profit by. His great personality will remain clear when everything else will be blurred. Let us rejoice even in the midst of our great grief in its gathered glory.



SIR ASUTOSH IN HIS LIBRARY, 1917

Discussion is going on as to the form the memorial to Sir Asutosh should take. If I may venture on a suggestion, there must be a personal memorial, which will keep his memory green in the minds of future generations of students, whom he loved so well and for whom he lived and for whom he laboured. But his memory cannot be better preserved and perpetuated than by placing on a sound and firm footing the great institution which his genius created. In the presence of the Angel of Death, the voice of controversy must be hushed and all must unite with one heart to help those on whose shoulders will now devolve the great trust so that they may be able to gather the threads of his manifold activities and carry on his great work without being hampered by financial difficulties, to the lasting good of his countrymen. "Let each hand, each heart, each head and all spend and be spent, in service so divine."

B. K. Bose

IN MEMORIAM : SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

"Beware," said Emerson in one of his inspired moments, "when the great God sets loose a thinker in this planet, then all things are at risk. It is as when a conflagration has broken out in a great city and no man knows what is safe or where it will end." With peculiar appropriateness can it be said of the great man whose loss we mourn to-day. He rose like a meteor and equally meteoric was his disappearance from our midst. Now that we have rallied partially from the effects of the stunning blow—which unto the last we had fondly believed to be false—we should attempt a computation of the loss we have sustained. It is far from our motive—and indeed it is preposterous for any one—to attempt to make a full inventory of the extraordinary gifts, the versatile genius and the myriad-minded interests of the personage. This being so, one is tempted to slip into a too facile deification and to prefer silence lest one should 'damn with faint praise' or do injustice to the memory of the departed great by omitting reference to the one or the other aspect of his personality. The motive which inspires this attitude may be laudable in itself; but if all-absorbing, it is sure to defeat its own aim. Silence on such occasions is very often due to intellectual indolence or emotional inertia—which are alike devoid of a redeeming grace. We, however, revere Asutosh as *humanly* great and as such we do not think it humanly impossible to pay our respectful homage to his memory by recounting this or that feature of his many-sided personality. Moreover, ours is not the ambitious aim of the biographer—which is either thorough or nothing—but the modest one of an humble admirer that is satisfied with a little. A tribute of love, howsoever humble, has, they say, an individual importance, a uniqueness of meaning, which is 'too precious to be lost.' That is what emboldens the present writer to come forward with this homage of love in the good faith that it will have its place in the bouquet of honours garnered in his memory.

It is held that sorrow makes us wise—wise in more senses than one. It is but human to reckon the value of a thing only when we are bereft of it. But there has been a notable exception in this case. Sir Asutosh's was not a posthumous greatness. Great already in life—and perhaps greater still in his death—Asutosh has falsified by the sheer compelling force of his personality the popular adage: 'Cæsar dead is far greater than Cæsar living.' To-day his loss is being mourned as the greatest catastrophe that can befall a nation at a critical juncture of its history. But the worst feature of this loss is that it is not merely catastrophic, but will be realised progressively as each to-day gnaws into and swells a to-morrow. We are too near in space and time to make a just estimate of the loss we have sustained. Viewing it in its proper perspective, it is for posterity to give the verdict. Let us not for Heaven's sake forestall it.

The most dominant note, indeed the keynote of Sir Asutosh's life, was an indomitable boldness, and unflinching courage and a relentless vigour—the characteristic traits of a soul essentially free in thought and speech. Boldness was synonymous with Asutosh and courage was the very stuff he was made of—a fact that could hardly escape even a casual observer. His was a boldness born of a plentitude of bodily and mental vigour—a rare combination to be seen. As the living embodiment of health and vigour, both physical and mental, Sir Asutosh was the standing refutation of the seductive phrase—'the mild Hindu.' 'The Bengal Tiger' is the most fitting appellation that could be given to this far-from-mild Hindu; and many are the thumps dealt by this Bengal Tiger in quarters both high and low, whereof painful memories still linger and are likely to continue for some time to come.

His boldness was not the boldness of a daredevil or of a desperate man but the boldness of a man imbued with a keen sense of freedom. Freedom was indeed the very breath of his nostrils. Born in a land of helots, he has abundantly exemplified in himself what a free man is like. Those who have felt the magic of his thoughts and the contagion of his emotions—thoughts that would burn deep and emotions that would thrill one's being—know it full well. That there was something unspeakable, some main-miracle, something apparently not of this work-a-day life that accounted for the spell he cast on his audience, no one will deny. But what was that something, the secret, the fountain-head of his power ?—It was the atmosphere of freedom that he breathed and that diffused a fragrance over all his words and deeds—the perennial fount that vitalized and nurtured the boldness and courage of which he was an exemplar. Such fearlessness and courage have at times so ill accorded with the environment he was placed in that he has been looked upon as a 'stranger from afar.' But we forget that these are the people that 'like trailing clouds of glory' come with a higher certificate of birth from the hands of God who lets them loose on this planet of ours devoid of a 'local habitation and a name'; for they are destined to be of all ages, and of all climes—the salt of the earth, the light of the world. That is why to-day Indians and Europeans alike acknowledge his greatness and render unto him the honour that is due to a free-born soul, however much that freedom of his might have proved galling to them. Early initiated into and unwearied in the service of this sovereign mistress, this devoted apostle of freedom has shown in himself what such a dedicated life implies. Freedom, they say, is a jealous goddess, exacting and relentless, calling upon her devotee to renounce all thoughts of self, 'to scorn delights and live laborious days' and rewarding at last with a crown of thorns. Nobly did he answer this call; and creditably did he acquaint himself in the championship of the cause which was so dear to his heart—the cause of his *Alma Mater* for which he has sacrificed his leisure and comfort and literally lived laborious days. Such unsparing and selfless devotion to the cause at the expense of self-culture—particularly, of the chance of study and research in subjects for which he had unquestionably first rate aptitude—is indeed unique as well as inimitable. Nevertheless these are the people that serve as beacon-lights to those that would follow in their footsteps, inspiring and animating them with the dynamic of their example. This self-denying ordination for a sacred cause surely entitles him to the rank

"Of those immortal dead who live again,
In minds made better by their presence: live
In pulses stirred to generosity,
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
For miserable aims that end with self,
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
And with their mild persistence urge man's search
To vaster issues.
So to live is heaven."

assuredly. No more fitting epitaph on his handiwork could be conceived!

His early apprenticeship under this mistress enabled him to tide over many a crisis in the eventful history of this University. In particular, the Post-graduate department of the University of which he was the sole author and inspirer has weathered many a storm only under his skilful pilotship. Like Napoleon he has fought single-handed for its autonomy till the last hour. But alas! before the weather-beaten vessel could be brought to safer moorings, he crossed the bar at the summons of his Pilot to be entrusted perhaps with the captaining of another vessel in more troubled water. It is striking indeed that this manner of his death came as the fitting close of a career so supremely unapproachable,—of a man standing out in solid singleness in death as in life as well.

A veritable Napoleon in life he died a Napoleonic death—an exile from home in Olympic indifference to all earthly aids that could be rendered to him. So sad, so tragic, yet so heroically sublime was the passing away of this great man.

Now that he is gone what will be the fate of the Post-graduate department, his latest handiwork?—this is the question in everybody's mouth. An institution which he has brought up with parental solicitude and care—will it be suffered wantonly to perish, or what, in his opinion, would be a much worse fate, to barter away its freedom? It is up to the people of Bengal to give an answer to that question. We do not know what answer will be given but we have faith all the same that

> "Freedom's battle once begun,
> Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son
> Tho' baffl'd oft is ever won"—

whether by a nation or by an individual. This is the legacy—the charge of a strenuous fight—that has been bequeathed by him. Who is there so base among his followers or colleagues that will betray the trust or suffer its mutilation? Further, a thing like that can never perish because he has reared it with his life's blood, with intensive penance and an unflagging will to suffer. Of the divine Labourer it has been said 'स तपस्तप्त्वा सर्वमिदमसृजत' "*Sa tapastapthva sarvam idam-asrijata.*" That is the secret of creation as well as the continued existence of everything. All such creations as have their root in a 'तपस्या' *tapasyá* are truly 'the nurselings of immortality.'

Such has been the illustrious career of a man pledged to Freedom. The keynote of that career was struck expressly in the closing words of that memorable Senate speech of his: "*Freedom first, freedom second, freedom always. Nothing else will satisfy me.*" Apart from the autobiographical interest that attaches to these lines, they are luminous with a deeper signification. Divorced from the special context—where the dictum admittedly refers to a 'chartered freedom,' and placed in the context of the life of the speaker, it acquires a new breadth of meaning. It is sheer intellectual perversity that sticks only to contextual interpretation and refuses to see through the transparent guise into the inner meaning of a pregnant utterance. Here, as elsewhere, more is meant than meets the ear. So construed it stands as a byword, as the gospel of that freedom which is the inalienable birthright of every man.

It is neither the place nor the occasion to rake up contentious issues as to whether he had respect for other men's freedom and would really carry matters with a high hand in the right autocratic way. Suffice it to say that his opponents in public life did even in his lifetime testify to his greatness and generosity as an enemy and still revere his memory as one with whom it was their privilege to cross swords. Like Mark Antony's peroration on Brutus' bier, the best tribute to his memory has been that of one of his latter-day opponents.

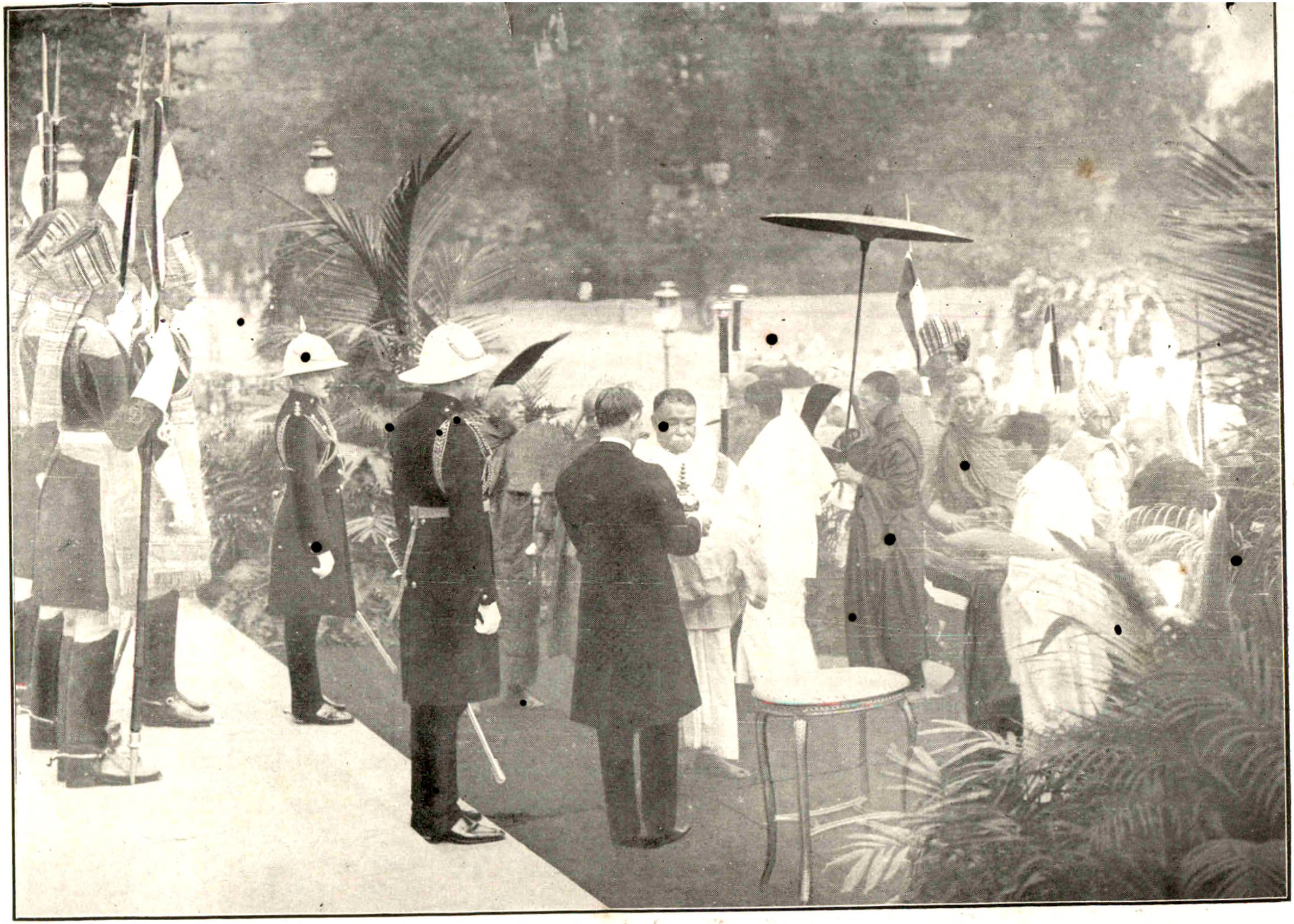
Many were the virtues attendant on such innate fearlessness of his. His was, for example, an absolutely confiding and unsuspecting nature that goes hand in hand with fearlessness. Suspicion is the child of fear, and in a soul essentially fearless, suspicion can have no place. He could never suspect any one, this was at once his strength and weakness. He has not infrequently paid rather too dearly for misplaced confidence but never did he condescend to suspect people. It seemed as if he would court death rather than forsake his nature—in pursuance perhaps of the maxim of the Bhāgavad Geeta, "स्वधर्म्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्म्मो भयावहः" *Svadharmē nidhanam sreyah paradharmo bhayābaha*—Better die retaining one's *Dharma* than embrace an alien one which is always dangerous.

While reckoning these outstanding traits of his character—an irrepressible freedom, an innate boldness and an unflinching courage—one cannot afford to ignore the heart that lay within—a heart brimming over with the milk of human kindness. His name will not be invoked by his successors, far less by his contemporaries, as an apotheosis of power or force merely, but as a man of unbounded charity bordering sometimes, as some unkind critic might say, on indiscretion. In these days we hear too much of 'indiscriminate charity'—a phrase repeated *ad nauseam* by 'cultured' persons in whom studied abstention from charity is really a cloak of lowliness of heart or apathy. In this respect, as in all others, he was a thorough-bred nationalist hearkening back to the dying note of an age when the guest would be regarded as the very image of the Divine, 'सर्व्वदेवमयोऽतिथि'—*Sarva devamayotithi.* That which is fast becoming an old-world virtue a matter of antiquarian curiosity merely was a matter of daily practice with him. It was not due merely to his respect for national tradition, but a direct outcome of his capacious heart. With the average run of mankind discriminative or discreet charity is a virtue of necessity; such a man can hardly afford to be indiscriminate in acts of charity. But his charity was commensurate with the greatness of his soul, although discordant with the somewhat rough and awe-inspiring exterior. Wonderful, indeed, is this blend of the stern and the humane, the man and the woman—the woman serving as a set-off to his forceful personality. To such characters forsooth did Bhavabhuti dedicate the lines:

"वज्रादपि कठोराणि मृदूनि कुसुमादपि
Bajrādapi kathorani mrdūni kusumādapi
लोकोत्तराणां चेतांसि को नु विज्ञातुमर्हति ।"
Lokottarānām chetāmsi ko nu vijnatumarhati.—

"harder even than adamant, yet softer than flowers, the minds of the great are difficult to comprehend."

Of young Bengal—the student community in particular



SIR ASUTOSH RECEIVING THE RELICS OF THE BUDDHA FROM LORD RONALDSHAY, IN GOVERNMENT

—Asutosh was the uncrowned king; inasmuch as he was an ardent lover of youth with all its inexperience, its indiscretions and its follies. It was he who inspite of vehement opposition adopted the far-sighted policy of entrusting new-fledged graduates with the highest academic teaching, and I dare say he has had seldom any occasion to repent for it. And why? Because he had that abiding faith—the faith that creates and sustains—in youth. It is here, if anywhere, that the explanation is to be found of his popularity with the students. The scene of his last rites bears an eloquent testimony to the place which the departed great occupied in the heart of Young Bengal. And it is really significant that just three years ago when the students of Bengal were being carried off their feet by the wave of 'non-co-operation' movement and the schools and colleges deserted by them, it was this very man who being appealed to, stood up firmly and stemmed the tide with remarkable alacrity. Therein, as he has himself confessed in one of his speeches, his popularity with the students was put to a terrible strain. With more than parental affection and anxious care he flung open the doors of the University for the repentant return of the 'prodigal son' and it was found ere long that his popularity with the students had not in the least abated. This was bound to be; for there never has been and perhaps never will be, a greater friend of theirs. Can they afford to forget his never-failing advocacy of their cause, when all else have left them to their fate? Can they ever forget that benevolent smile that allayed all fear and suspicion when they approached him for the sake of a forlorn cause? Can they after all forget that chastening love for them who were his sons by adoption. His heart was with the young; that is why it would vibrate in unison with their sentiments and aspirations, as well as sorrows and misfortunes. In this hapless land of ours it is a rare phenomenon—an old man in perfect fellowship with the young. In fact, he could thoroughly enter into their spirits—

in direct contravention of the Shakespearean dictum 'crabbed age and youth cannot live together'—for his soul was always young in life as in death, although he was advancing in years. Verily 'whom the gods love die young.' Such are the God's elect favoured with the Elysian elixir that ensures perpetual youth. In him the younger generation has lost its best beloved patron, protector and guide. When comes such another? Echo answers only "when"!

Of his private religious faith we hardly know anything nor do we need to know anything beyond what we have seen in his public life. His life furnishes the ablest commentary on that. *Work was his religion*—not because he was born with a genius for organisation and work that would as such, naturally occur to him but because he believed with more than a Carlylean ardour that 'work is worship.' He has silently preached that gospel of work by his life-long endeavour, by tremendous personal sacrifice, by rigorous toil and *privation*. He would readily endorse Goethe's substitution of 'Action' for 'word' in the gospel of St. John. We do him no injustice when we interpret his faith thus. So absorbing was his passion for work—and perfection in it—that he would not rest until he had perfected it to its minutest details. It is this passion which has never allowed him to entrust his work to less able hands lest it should be marred or bungled. The consequence has been deplorable : there is now no worthy shoulder whereon his mantle can fall. If it is to be called any error on his part, it should be reckoned as one of the generous errors of any idealist or perfectionist.

We cannot at this stage pass in silence over the much-debated question of his patriotism, nationalism, or his loyalty to the country's cause. It has been deplored in some quarters that he did not identify himself with any of the existing political parties of the day. A man of sturdy independence, indomitable courage, and aggressive nationalism as he was, he stood aloof, it is alleged, from the political arena—

when others were rendering yeomen's service, he was not there. In one of the memorial meetings convened in his honour, it was, however, given out authoritatively that he had 'definite plans of action' to this very end. It was his wonted reticence following perhaps on the golden maxim "मनसा चिन्तितं कर्म्म वचसा न प्रकाशयेत्"—'*Manasa chintitam karma vachasa na prakashayet*—' the plan of action thought of in the mind should not be given out—that gave the reins to unbridled conjectures and surmises. In the absence of any ostensible proof of his political sympathies or leanings, it is better not to hazard any opinion or indulge in conjectures. Truly, as one Anglo-Indian paper observed, 'he took no part in politics;' and the observation was made probably with a sigh of relief! Even if he had any definite political creed or any set policy to pursue, it was kept a dead secret for issuing of manifestoes and appeals, pamphleteering or preaching like demagogues was altogether foreign to his nature. In fact, a born leader like him could not possibly be in a state of vassalage to any of the political parties—or what would be fitlier termed political non-descripts of the day. Whatever explanation we now offer; it is highly probable that his aloofness was not an accidental or incidental, but a studied one. There might have been well considered reasons for that. Believing perhaps with his namesake, friend and associate, Sir Asutosh Chowdhury, that 'a subject nation can have no politics,' he did not think it worth his while to waste his breath in platform speeches or fritter away his energy in political pettifogging—he was constitutionally incapable of such political games. Indeed the new-fangled, clamorous nationalism of to-day had no attraction for him; for sensationalism which goes by the name of politics in these days was not in his line. Fortunately for the country he turned his best energies to a more profitable channel silently to spin at the wheel of the nation's destiny. He knew full well that 'the petty cobwebs we have spun' although gay in the sunshine of popular enthusiasm, are destined to be swept to naught by the passing wind. Without building, therefore, on shifting quicksands—counting on the vagaries of to-day and being the dupes of to-morrow,—he devoted himself to the laying of a foundation of what he regarded the true nationalism. With his penetrative insight he at once diagnosed the malady and discovered the cancer that was eating into the very vitals of the body-politic, and like a far-sighted physician tried to effect its eradication instead of convulsing the diseased organism into action by means of stimulants or narcotics. Looking ahead of the frenzied zealots and maniacs seized with an insensate vandalism, he truly perceived that the salvation of his dear motherland lay not in the boycotting of educational institutions and the consequent self-imposed ignorance, but in more intensified as well as diffused enlightenment. Amid deafening clamours and imprecations, criticisms and jeers, he with his wonted fearlessness stuck to his banner inscribed with the motto of 'the advancement of learning' and addressed himself to the task of conserving and consolidating the citadel he had built up by the sweat of his brow. His opponents and detractors who were then a legion conspired—in their varied interests and varied capacities—to vilify and hold him up to obloquy and shame. But scarcely did they reckon that such a hero

> "was not born to shame :
> Upon his brow shame is ashamed to sit."

a brow consecrated by the sweat of a selfless devotion to a worthy cause. Regardless, however, of those shafts and missiles the unyielding Atlas carried on the burden in the firm conviction that he was laying there in the foundation of a nationalism that is yet to be—more solid, more durable and more fruitful. That foundation is too patent to need any mention ; it is writ large across the face of his glorious handiwork prophetic of that consummation devoutly to be wished by every true son of the land. Is there any one who is blind to the Herculean labour with which this master-builder gathered together the scattered fragments of ancient Indian civilisation and culture—its art and literature, its architecture and sculpture, its law and polity, its social and constitutional history, lastly its philosophy and religion—to revive therefrom the sleeping spirit of ancient India? Is there any one so impervious that needs to be told in so many words that in this Revival of Letters lies the only hope of our salvation, for, as it was once wisely observed, "a nation that has no glorious past can have no glorious future either?" It is difficult to forestall what position posterity will assign to Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya,—the one Indian of Indians in whom the spirit of ancient India may be said to have incarnated itself—in the inauguration of an Indian nationalism. Nor can we see sure of the verdict of posterity on the overt nationalism of Asutosh embedded in this great move of his; but this much is sure that posterity will be in a better position to appraise his work, for by that time the seed sown by him will have borne its fruit.

In his dress, mode of living and social views, art is universally known, Asutosh was an aggressive nationalist. In these respects he did not simply profess a lip-loyalty to the national tradition but vindicated his fidelity by his life. He never preached but *lived* what he believed to be true and right. No more telling example of example being better than precept could be found. It is he alone among Bengalees of to-day who has consistently maintained and enhanced the prestige of the *Dhoti.* In this respect, as in many others, his only predecessor was Iswarchandra Vidyasagar of hallowed memory. Dress is not a trifling thing; it is undoubtedly the emblem of that commendable national egotism and pride which no free-born soul can ever be without. When one thinks of him, it is the *dhoti*-clad Asu Babu, and not the Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mookerji with the judicial wig and robe that crops up before our minds' eye. It is indeed interesting to note that the official ban on the *Dhoti* as being unfit to be the 'Court' dress has synchronised with the passing away of this sturdy champion of the *Dhoti*!

In the observance of social customs and ceremonies he was an out-and-out nationalist and a strict adherent of the Hindu tradition. In fact, his orthodoxy or traditionalism was simply the offshoot of his deep-seated nationalism. Still his was not that orthodoxy, which as synonymous with soulless bigotry sticks to the letter in studied ignorance of the spirit of the law and thus overrides all considerations of humanity in pursuance of the *ignis fatuus* of a spiritual pride. The occasion for his departure from the orthodox Hindu tradition is too well known to need any mention here. His departure on that occasion was not, be it remembered, the secession of an ultra-liberal, denationalized, non-conformist but was the deliberate procedure of a man who had all through his life maintained a strict loyalty to the Hindu tradition. This event of his life has brought into prominent relief the breadth of his vision, the culture of his mind and the greatness of his soul. It has emphatically demonstrated the truth which none but an enlightened Hindu—in the strict sense of the phrase can realise that 'the law has been made for man, not man for the law.' Although not a social reformer by profession, his silent teaching by the text of his life is worth a thousand sermons from the pulpit and the platform. Thus his nature approximated a full-orbed perfection. Truly can it be said of him that

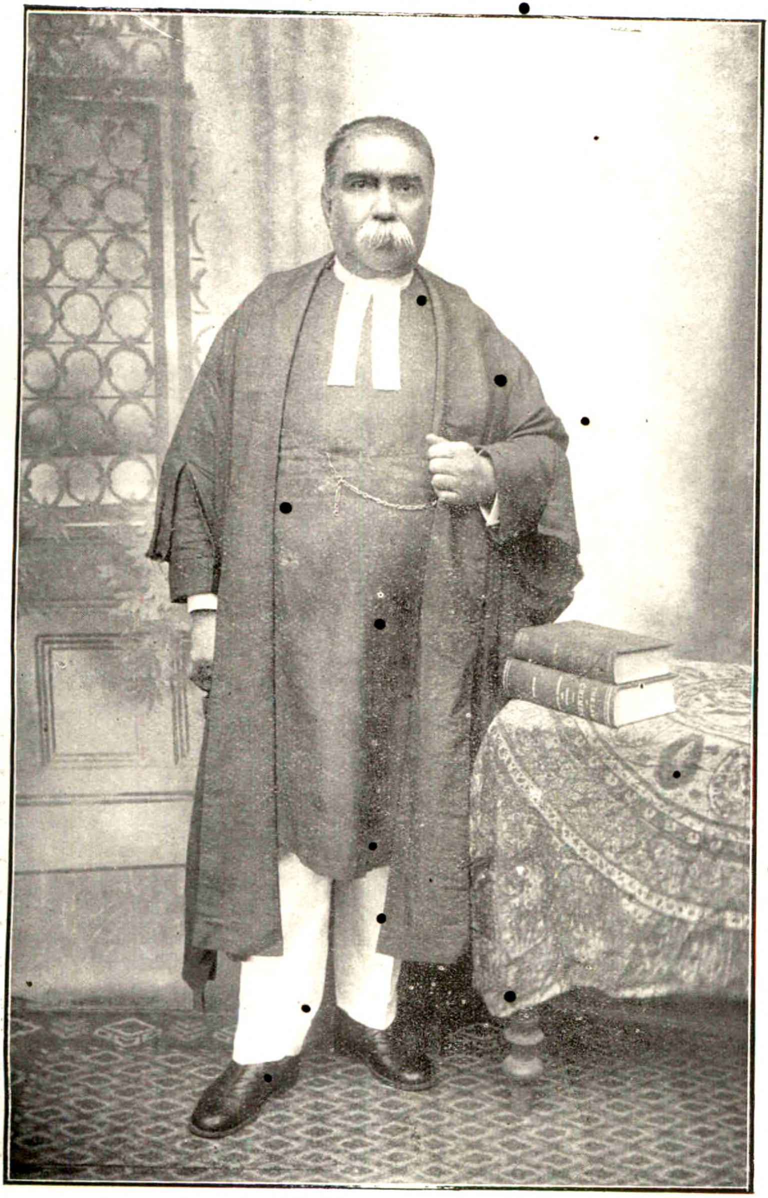
> "..............the elements
> So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, *This was a man*!!"

Lastly, he was not the votary of that un-enlightened short-sighted, exclusive cult of nationalism which shuts itself up in a dark solitary cell, stubbornly refusing to let in light because it would be foreign or alien to the ancient hallowed darkness native to the cell. His was not that fatuous ill-conceived and even suicidal nationalism that goes in for boycotting fresh air and light from all quarters and goes on hunger-strike to die a martyr's death from sheer inanition. Such sham heroism, such cheap martyrdom, and such morbid sentimentalism would deservedly come in for condemnation in no uncertain terms from him. His was instead a saner, a healthier, a sunnier type of nationalism that would renounce a 'fugitive and cloistered virtue,' meet its adversary on its own ground and baffle it with its own weapons forged at its anvil. But we have not a more detailed programme from him. The constructive aspect of his nationalism has remained shrouded in mystery. It defies all guess-work, all analysis on our part. It is indeed preposterous to expect that we shall be able to decipher fully the workings of a master-mind. It requires another master mind, a kindred soul, to unravel the mystery. *Similia similibus cognoscentur* said the mystical Empedocles. The great Swāmī Vivekānanda is reported to have grieved that there was not another Vivekananda to estimate the significance of the service he had rendered to his countrymen and to humanity at large. The lives of such great men, or heroes in the Carlylean sense, are at once inviting and resisting scrutiny. Still we press for light, more light, from these and every one interprets these great minds according to one's own light. Here was such a hero whose loss we mourn to-day and of him one might truly say in the words in which Matthew Arnold apostrophised Shakespeare :

> " Others abide our question. Thou art free,
> We ask and ask : Thou smilest and art still,
> Out-topping knowledge. For the loftiest fill
> That to the stars uncrowns his majesty

Planting his steadfast footsteps in the sea,
Making the Heaven of Heavens his dwelling place
Spares but the cloudy border of his base
To the foiled searching of mortality : " !

SAROJKUMAR DAS



ON THE EVE OF HIS RETIREMENT

DECEMBER, 1923

MY REMINISCENCES OF SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

It is a truism that great men like precious gems never fail to make an impression of their worth on the mind of those who happen to meet them. Men susceptible of no impression as well as those, who though impressionable, take a distorted view of whatever they happen to see, may often fail to appreciate the worth of great men and things. Yet leaving aside these two classes of beings to whom there is nothing great or precious in the world, there is a third class forming a majority of the people whose mind never misses to be impressed with whatever is conspicuously magnificent or majestic. It is this class of people which in appreciation of the services rendered by great benefactors of men cherishes their memory with grateful reverence.

At once scholar, orator, lawyer, Judge, educationist and patriot, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee united in himself the qualities which are rarely found in combination. He had acquired a thorough mastery over many departments of learning. His versatile genius enabled him to preside over the various Boards and Studies in Arts and Sciences of the Calcutta University and evoked the admiration of experts. His brilliant Address to the second Oriental Conference of 1922 at Calcutta was a masterpiece not likely to be forgotten by those who had the privilege to listen to it. His qualities as a distinguished lawyer and Judge have been universally acknowledged.

His organisation of the Post-graduate Studies in Arts and Sciences in the Calcutta University and the conspicuous part he played as a member of the Calcutta University Commission bear ample testimony to the attainments he possessed as an up-to-date Educationist. No one can deny that from an educational point of view, it is fraught with golden possibilities of vast importance to India. It was his ambition to afford a wide scope for the training of Indian students in original research in all branches of Sciences and Arts. It is to be devoutly hoped that his successors in the Calcutta University will take steps to safeguard its stability in the interests of Research Students of Indian Universities. When talking to H. V. Nanjundaiah, the late Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University, I remarked that in appreciation of the services rendered by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in founding the Post-Graduate Studies in the Calcutta University, his admirers had set up a marble bust of Sir Asutosh in the University building, he replied that Sir Asutosh richly deserved a statue.

It was simply astonishing to see the power of memory which he displayed in remembering the name of each of the hundred and fifty professors and of more than a thousand students constituting the Post-graduate branch of the University. Nay, he knew the names of all the officers, clerks, and menials of the University Office, besides having the budget-figures of the University at his finger's ends. Accordingly, he found it easy to draft a programme of University 'extension lectures' at any time of the day so as to enable all the applicants from among the Post-graduate students to attend the lectures without interference to their regular class lessons.

He was a man of undoubted patriotism. His patriotism, however, was not of a parochial type. He extended his sympathy to the whole of India. It was a favourite saying of his that he was an Indian first, then a Bengali. There is no doubt that his practice was in consonance with this conviction, for he selected distinguished scholars from all parts of India for the staff of the Institute of Post-graduate studies.

It may also be noted that his loyalty to the British throne was hearty and sincere. On the occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in India at the close of 1921, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee had been to Bangalore in connection with the Tata Research Institute. He was convinced that the people of India were decidedly wrong in boycotting the Prince and asked me whether there was any express statement in any Sanskrit work condemning the boycott of an heir-apparent to the throne by the people, displeased rightly or wrongly though they might be with the officers of his Kingdom.

In short, he was a man complete in all respects, with his life dedicated to the sacred cause of education in the true sense of the word.

R. SHAMASASTRY

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE :

LORD LYTTON'S TRIBUTES

I. The following is the full text of the speech delivered by His Excellency as Chairman of the Special Meeting of the Senate on Saturday, the 15th June, 1924 :

" Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Fellows,

This is the first opportunity I have had as Chancellor of meeting in full sessions the members of the Senate. I wish it could have been an occasion of rejoicing which had called us together and that in the presence of some great good fortune we could join our voices in a common note of thanksgiving. Alas, it is a very different matter which has caused us to meet. We stand in the presence of death, and with bowed heads and heavy hearts we have come to mourn the loss of our university's greatest son.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was the most striking and representative Bengali of his time. The versatility of intellect and the variety of his interests were so great that there is scarcely any department of the public life of this province which has not been left the poorer by his death. But in this place, and in the presence of those who were his colleagues and fellow-workers I would recall to you not the brilliant lawyer, nor the learned judge, nor the many-sided scholar, nor the patron and administrator of countless learned societies but rather the man who in the interest of this university and in furtherance of that object for which it stands—the advancement of learning—devoted to the cause of education through a period of thirty-five years, those hours which other men less intellectually gifted or possessed of less indefatigable energy reserve for recreation or repose.

The University of Calcutta, as it stands to-day, bears the indelible impress of those thirty-five years of devoted labour. What the university is to-day is the result of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's work. During his time two University Commissions sat.

The first Commission, distrustful though Sir Asutosh was of the trend of its recommendations, in reality paved the way for what proved to be the main achievement of his life in university matters, namely, the development of the university as a home of advanced learning and as a teaching organisation. To that development he devoted all his immense energies, his organising genius, and his administrative powers and he finally succeeded in building up the great post-graduate department which is the most striking feature of the Calcutta University at the present day. That the imposition of this upper storey upon the buildings of the ground floor had revealed and intensified in an alarming degree the structural defects of the latter, Sir Asutosh was the first to admit, and as a member of the Sadler Commission he signed a report which frankly recognise this fact.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Fellows, the post-graduate department of this university was the outstanding product of Sir Asutosh's great career. To that development which needed his vigilant and unremitting attention he sacrificed, as he once said, a great part of his strength and vitality, as also those opportunities of scholarly research which he valued so highly. Of any change, of any reform, in other departments of the university which might conceivably affect the welfare of that special development he was ever distrustful, and in latter years, I think, he tended to bring most questions of university reform to this one test, namely, their effect on the post-graduate department.

So completely did he, the creator of this department, dominate and control the whole of its activities, so concentrated was his attention upon its progress and development that he could admit no fault in any policy which made for its advancement and was perhaps a little too ready to see in the critics of other features of the life of the university potential enemies of the cause that was so near his heart.

In the last year he and I have been spoken of as antagonists, but there was no fundamental difference of principle between us to justify any antagonism. Myself a graduate of a great University, I am able to sympathise with the University point of view, and I approach all the affairs of this university as its Chancellor first and only subsequently as the Governor of the province. We ought to have been great collaborators and it was always my hope that time would have convinced Sir Asutosh that there was nothing antagonistic between my ideals and his. Even if there had been more reality than I am prepared to admit in the issues which seemed temporarily to divide us all controversy would be silenced in the presence of death.

To-day we can think only of the great intellectual powers he placed so long at the service of his university; of the years of unremitting toil which he cheerfully spent in the task of organising and administering its higher branches, and of the renown, not only in India but in Europe, which he thereby gains for Calcutta. Let us remember with gratitude that powerful encouragement to scholarship which he was always ready to extend to any man, whether Bengali or foreigner, whose talents might bring lustre to the university or stimulate research and learning within its walls. Let us pay homage to the man who year after year, whether as Vice-Chancellor or from an equally influential position in the background, controlled and guided the college and school system which the university through its functions, as an examining body, is called upon to administer—the man who above all others, in the eyes of his countrymen and in the eyes of the world, represented the university so completely that for many years Sir Asutosh was in fact the university and the university was Sir Asutosh. As Louis XIV could say " L'etat c'est moi, " so with equal truth could Sir Asutosh have said " I am the university. "

Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Fellows, we have something more to do to-day than merely to pay verbal tribute to the great man whom we have met to mourn.

Let us also consider in what way we can most fittingly mark our appreciation of his work and what monument will most worthily perpetuate his memory.

It has been suggested to me that the new University buildings which are nearing completion should be named after Sir Asutosh. If you, gentlemen, are willing, by all means let this be done. The buildings belong to the University and we need no other sanction than our own wishes. But such a step, if adopted, cannot take the place of the greater memorial to which I feel sure the whole of Bengal will wish to contribute. A public meeting will no doubt be held to consider what form the memorial should take, but in such a matter the University should take the lead and I venture, therefore, to make a suggestion for the consideration of the committee which you will presently be asked to appoint. Let me remind you again that the greatest achievement of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's life was the transformation of the Calcutta University into a centre of advanced instruction and research. This was the work nearest his heart, the work on which he spent his energies to the very limit of his endurance and what worthier memorial to his memory can we conceive than an endowment of that post-graduate department which he created.

Let each one of us severally resolve that this cherished creation of his life shall not suffer because he has left us. Gentlemen, while his great work is still fresh in our minds, while we almost seem to see him sitting in our midst and can still hear the echoes of his commanding voice, let all differences be forgotten, all mistakes forgiven, let us resolve to build over his ashes a temple of reconciliation. Let us unite in the common determination to work together for those changes which are inevitable if our university is to keep its fair name before the world. Let the foundation stone of that temple of reconciliation be a joint and common purpose to receive the teaching University of Calcutta as a sacred trust from his dying hand, and in the years to come, whatever changes may be found essential in the general organisation of the university, to allow nothing to threaten its stability, its prosperity, its freedom or its future development."

* * *

The following is an extract from the Address delivered by His Excellency at the Annual Convocation of the University held on 5th July, 1924:

"There is one loss, however, the recent, which dominates our mind to-day. One place in the University left vacant by death which no one else can ever fill—the work of one man terminated which no other single man can carry on. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, five times Vice-Chancellor, he who to the student and the general public represented, nay, was the University, is no longer with us and these walls which have so often echoed to his eloquent Convocation Speeches, will never hear again his resounding and masterful voice. His death has created a feeling akin to consternation for it is not merely an important piece of the structure of the University which has fallen out, it is as if the whole structure itself had collapsed.

I shall not attempt to perform again that duty which the Senate of the University carried out under my presidency in June last on behalf of the whole body of the University and its students. On that occasion I paid my personal tribute to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, and the Senate placed on record in dignified and fitting language its deep appreciation of his devoted work for this University. That tribute is doubtless well-known to you since it was reported very fully in the press. Less well known to you, perhaps, is the tribute which his colleagues in the Syndicate paid to him. It sums up what those who worked with him week by week on the administrative body of the University thought of their leader. It was a finely expressed tribute worthy of Sir Asutosh, and I should like to quote it as nothing can better express the admiration which his colleagues felt for him and the dismay with which they contemplate the future without him:

"We, the members of the Syndicate, in a special meeting convened for the purpose, place on record an expression of our profound grief at the death of our revered colleague, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. As Vice-Chancellor or as an ordinary member of the Syndicate he had been intimately associated with

its work since 1889. For thirty-five years he placed his outstanding intellectual powers and his unrivalled energy ungrudgingly at the service of colleagues, thereby enabling them to carry out a task which year by year became more difficult, laborious and exacting. The remarkable developments in the work of the University during the last two decades which it was our privilege as the representatives of the Senate to direct, were largely the product not only of his constructive genius but of the selfless, incessant and devoted toil, which he brought to his task as a member of our body. The personal and private sorrow which we each individually feel at the loss of our distinguished colleague is intensified by our keen sense of the irreparable injury to our work which will be caused by the absence of his indefatigable energy, his directive skill and his unique knowledge and experience. In paying our sorrowful tribute of respect to the friend, colleague, and leader whom we have lost, and in placing on record our profound admiration for the services rendered to the cause of education by the work which he accomplished as a member of our body, we express the hope that the memory of his devoted labours may inspire those of us who remain and those who follow us, to imitate his great example, and dedicate all the powers which they possess to the service of their University and to the achievement of that object for which he lived, the advancement of learning amongst the people of his motherland."

These words I feel sure express the sentiments of the whole of Bengal and I can say nothing which could add to their eloquence for their sincerity."

* * *

The following is the full text of the speech delivered by His Excellency as President of the Sheriff's Meeting held at the Dalhousie Institute on Friday, the 11th July, 1924:

"This meeting of the citizens of Calcutta has been summoned to enable them to record their sorrow at the loss which they have suffered in the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, a man of outstanding ability who had distinguished himself in many branches of public life and who at the time of his death was the most outstanding personality in Bengal.

I have already on two previous occasions paid my tribute to Sir Asutosh's work in connection with the Calcutta University and I have also expressed my own opinion as to the most fitting memorial to him. I need not, therefore, repeat here what I have already said elsewhere on those subjects. But besides being a great Vice-Chancellor and the creator of the teaching branch of the Calcutta University, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was distinguished in many other ways and it is of some of these that I wish to speak on this occasion.

If evidence were needed of his outstanding abilities the tremendous vigour and versatility of his mind and of the great respect in which he was held, it could be found in the numerous meetings of condolence which have been held all over the country by countless societies and bodies of many of which he was an active member or patron. Those societies and bodies dwelt mainly upon the aspects of their great leader and inspirer with which they were primarily concerned. To-day we are concerned with them all and there are speakers on this platform who knew him in different capacities and who can testify to the ability on all of them.

As he was such a conspicuous figure in public life, we are apt to forget that his scholastic attainments were very considerable and he had a most distinguished University career. I need not recite the various academic distinctions which he gained in whatever subject he took up, mathematics, science or law. He began his career as a Mathematician and, in spite of his other absorbing cares, he maintained to the last his special interest in this subject in which he was pre-eminent. If he was a scholar in the restricted sense of the word, far more was he a scholar in the wider and deeper sense—a love of knowledge and research. As "Advancement of Learning" was the motto of his University, so was it his own watchword. It was his guiding star through life. Whatever contributed to the sum of man's knowledge—to the advancement of learning—was to him good, and so it was that he confined himself to no one subject, no narrow school of thought, but insisted on the necessity of making contact with intellectual progress throughout the world. Thus it was, too, that he associated himself so actively and so intimately with learned societies which had for their object the promotion of knowledge. His connection with them was not merely a paper one but he took a keen and personal interest in their affairs and management and identified himself absolutely with their objects. It will be sufficient to mention here the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which he was a member for thirty years and four times President; and various Sanskrit congresses and conferences, in the conduct of which he took a leading part.

His abilities as a lawyer soon brought him to the front rank of that profession. He was appointed a Judge of the High Court at the age of forty and he occupied this post for twenty years; here also, as in his other activities, he established a reputation for brilliance and profound learning.

In spite of the manifold calls upon his time which his varied interests involved, he still found the leisure and the will to participate in politics before his promotion to the High Court Bench and he was a member of the Bengal or Indian Legislative Council for six years. Had he been spared he would no doubt have resumed his activities in this direction after his retirement from the Bench. If he had done so he would soon have attained a commanding position for he was marked out for leadership in any sphere.

Gentlemen,—Much could be said in appreciation of Sir Asutosh in all these capacities, but his great qualities, his great personality, his independence of character are so well known to all that it is unnecessary for me to dwell on them longer. The other speakers who follow will, I have no doubt, emphasise the different aspects of his character and the resolutions which are to be proposed will give expression to the feeling of respect and admiration in which Calcutta held him. In conclusion, I will only say how glad I am as the Governor of the Province to have an opportunity of associating myself with his fellow countrymen in paying tribute to his memory."

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

(*An Appreciation*).

"*Sapiens in populo haereditabit honorem, et nomen illius erit vivens in aeternum.*"

(*Eccle, Ch. 37, V 29.*)

The death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee threw a lasting gloom over the city of Calcutta; reduced the University to impotence, and filled India with the deepest sorrow. His sudden death was a shock and a sorrow, hard to be endured. A blazing luminary in meridian splendour was suddenly extinguished. In the dense darkness that followed, men tried to see, but the effort only threw them back on the great void made by this tragic disappearance. They looked around to seek consolation from their friends, but alas! their grief was as heavy as their own. What comfort could the sorrow-stricken give? With heavy hearts and sad, they instinctively moved off to the University, that throne of his greatness, to see, if perchance, consolation could reach them. O my friends! what awaited them there? It was a house of woe. A pall as black as night was upon it. Men in the prime of life and the vigour of health sat around his statue, sorrowing out their souls. They saw in the folds of that pall the glittering deeds, the great schemes, the symbolised wisdom and the worth of their hero. But all this only added to their grief, for their great leader was gone. The light of the University was eclipsed, and rolled off into space unknown. Death had laid his icy hand on the greatest man it ever produced; had stilled a mighty heart full of love for them all. Their groans rang through the halls in heart-rending cadences, like the moaning of some departed spirit. All were bewildered, all stricken to the dust. "He is gone—He is gone" was the constant refrain. Yes, he left them for ever. This is what sent the arrow all the deeper into their hearts. If they only had had the consolation of bidding him farewell, it would have been some comfort to them. But no, suddenly and silently and noiselessly he left them. He stole away to eternity in the full vigour of his manhood, in the full possession of his senses, without even suspecting he would be a loss to his friends. This is what showed his greatness, his true grandeur, his humility. His robust common sense forbade him to think anything of himself as of himself. With characteristic humility he taught the doctrine that what one man knows, all can know, though his own knowledge was beyond sounding. Being a tremendous hard worker, he wished to see the same around him. He was as soft as love to the slow and backward, and as hard as the diamond to the lazy. The Poet, Young, says that great men are too great to find inferiors. " 'Tis moral grandeur makes the mighty man." 'Tis all well to sing his praises as a mighty giant of knowledge, able to hew his way through the most difficult problems with the ease and power of an Ajax in the ranks of war. If this were all, I account it nought, for I conclude any other man, so gifted by nature, would rise just as high, but " unless above himself he can erect himself, how poor a thing is man "? With Sir Asutosh, this was far from being all; it was only the foundation on which he raised the mighty fabric that will always remain his greatest monument.

The goodness of men's hearts may inspire them to take measures to perpetuate his memory, and rear monuments in marble and bronze, but I fear not to say, that, if they emblazoned his worth on each stone of the fabric, or stamped his deeds on imperishable bronze, they would not succeed in making him any better known, loved, or admired, than his own life has entitled him to be.

His high sense of justice when raised to the Bench, which he honoured and ennobled by his princely virtue, purer than the ermine he wore, his noble spirit of self-sacrifice, his great philanthropy, his genius for making knowledge loved, his enthusiasm for education—education in the highest and truest sense of the word—his high standard of virtue, the grandeur, the dignity, the simplicity and the purity of his private life, all these, and more, combine to raise a monument greater and more lasting than any human structure.

His funeral was a triumph of sorrow. A dead king carried home from the battlefield, where victory crowned him, could not so stir the hearts of the people to such poignant grief as the near approach of the train carrying the remains of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. When the bier covered with flowers was raised on the shoulders of six strong men, the reality of his death struck home to every heart in that vast crowd, and changed its deep silent anguish into a sympathetic determination to make the funeral a magnificent triumphal procession, welcoming home, though dead, a hero, a prophet and a king. Even on his bier he was great. To describe the whole were idle. Suffice it to say, that Calcutta never before turned out in such vast numbers to honour the dead.

Sir Asutosh, I now bid you farewell. May that God above, who gave you such rare gifts, with such a noble soul, have called you home to his heavenly mansions to crown you with the honour and glory that you deserve! Your life was cut off in the zenith of your greatness, but the light of your edifying life will go on shining as a beacon to encourage many generations yet unborn to tread the path thus illuminated, and to show them the heights that it is possible to reach by imitating your noble example.

J. L. MAHER

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE *

The death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee on May 25, shortly before attaining the age of sixty years, deprives the University of Calcutta of a leader rich in power and devotion, and scholars throughout the world of a friend. It is the extinguishing of a source from which was radiated encouragement, sympathy and inspiration to all intellectual workers of Bengal —of a beacon which showed all India the pathway to honour and greatness.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was until quite recently a Judge of the High Court in Calcutta and also Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, having held the first office for close on twenty years, and the second honorary office concurrently with it for several long periods. He was an Indian who had never left India, but was known throughout the world as an accomplished mathematician, an accomplished lawyer, an accomplished Sanskritic scholar, and above all as an apostle of culture. After winning all honours possible to a university student in Calcutta, he commenced active life as a youthful professor of mathematics but soon achieved that eminence as a lawyer which led to his appointment to the Tagore professorship of law, and later to the High Court Bench. He was a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the Royal Irish Academy, and other British and foreign learned Societies, president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1907-9, and chairman of the trustees of the Indian Museum since 1909.

So great were Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's working powers that his exacting professional activities seemed little more than preliminary to the manifold unselfish and gratuitous

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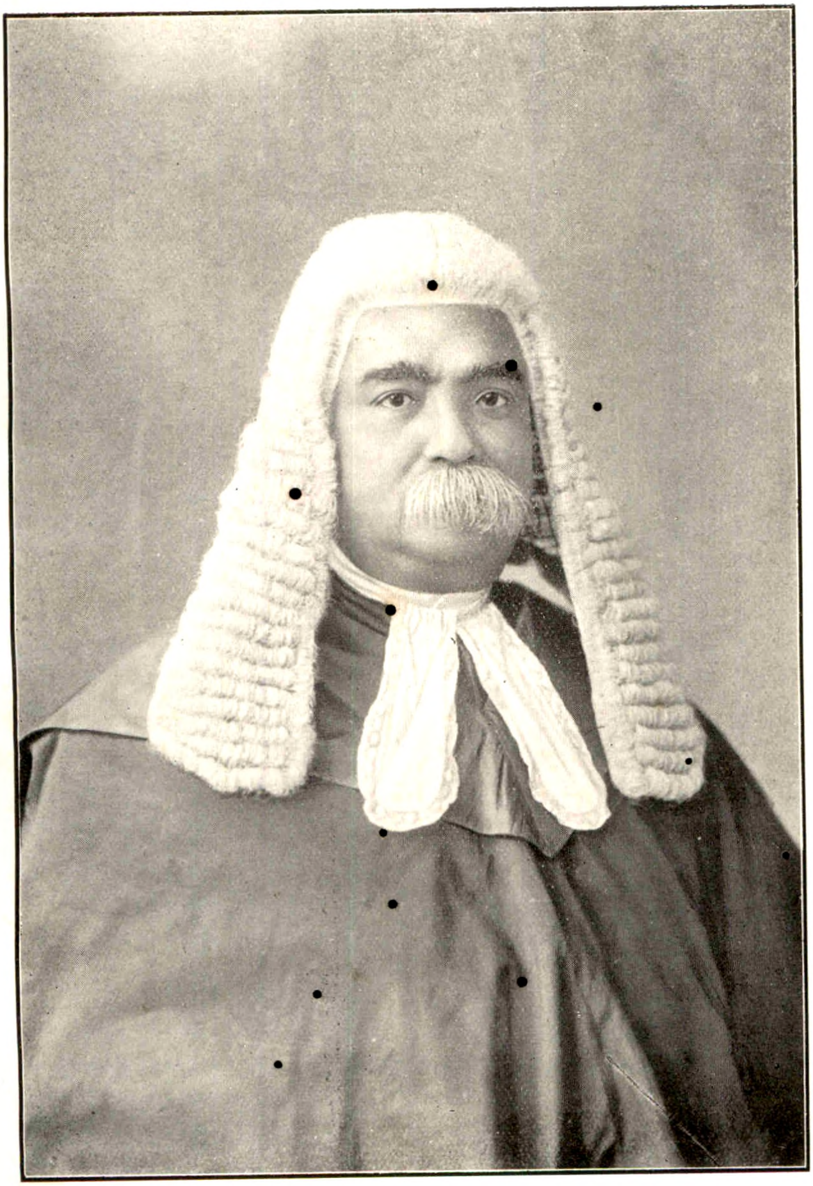
* Reproduced from *Nature*, June 21, 1924.

labours devoted to the welfare of his beloved University, to which he was wont to proceed daily from the High Court, and to the promotion of culture. It was his ambition that Calcutta should become a centre of learning and research; and he understood well how to inspire the enthusiasm of youth, the settled persistence of middle life, and the chastened hopes of later years, to contribute to this end. Characteristic of his capacious mind was his intimate acquaintance with the careers and personal circumstances of individual students and ex-students of the University and all concerned with or likely to be concerned with University work. The conversion of the University from a purely examining and inspecting body into a teaching institution would no doubt have been effected even without his efficient help; but the addition of numerous schools of active research was almost entirely due to his efforts.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was a great man because of the encyclopædic store of knowledge and information which his marvellously capacious mind contained ready for immediate use, because of his instant power of judgment and action and his clear vision of the right, and because of his power of influencing others through his intense sympathy with all strivers after truth and betterment. Every earnest intellectual worker, however humble or however eminent, would find in him a wise and understanding friend, and could talk to him as to a co-worker and an equal. Specialists in the most diverse literary and scientific subjects would find him familiar with the latest relevant literature. To every band of men engaged in the quest after truth and light his help and encouragement was freely and unselfishly given; and in learned societies and gatherings he was a dominant figure, giving appreciation where it was due and advice where it was needed. Typical of his prodigality in service were his relations to the Calcutta Mathematical Society, of which he was president from the time of its foundation at his instigation.



SIR ASUTOSH AS CHIEF JUSTICE
MARCH, 1920

Owing to the many other claims on his services during the week, the meetings of the Society were held on Sunday afternoons; and he never failed to be present in his presidential capacity and to take an active part in the proceedings. He was the author of numerous papers on mathematical subjects in the publications of several learned societies.

Sir Asutosh was a dominant power in the Senate and all departments of the University of Calcutta. In troublesome debates his rising to speak almost invariably meant that the right course would be made clear and adopted. In times of open warfare with others, when his ruthless scorn of all subterfuge made compromise difficult, he fought only for the pursuit of knowledge. His death is the passing of a valiant warrior whose battle-cry was:

"Let knowledge grow from more to more."

C. E. C.

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

The death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee just on the eve of the attainment of his sixtieth year removes one of the most widely cultured and talented of India's sons and the dominating figure in the field of India's higher education. It is one of those ironies of fate that he should to day be voted the greatest educationist without being a member of the educational profession. His only connection with the profession directly was an attempt to enter the education service which at the time opened to him the portals of the Provincial Service as the only door of entry for Indian talent. He rightly refused to accept the position and elected the field of law for his activities in life. The sincere educationist in him, however, continued to develop so that after almost forty years of an active life he passed away from us to the regret of all that knew him, and his loss is counted the most serious to education.

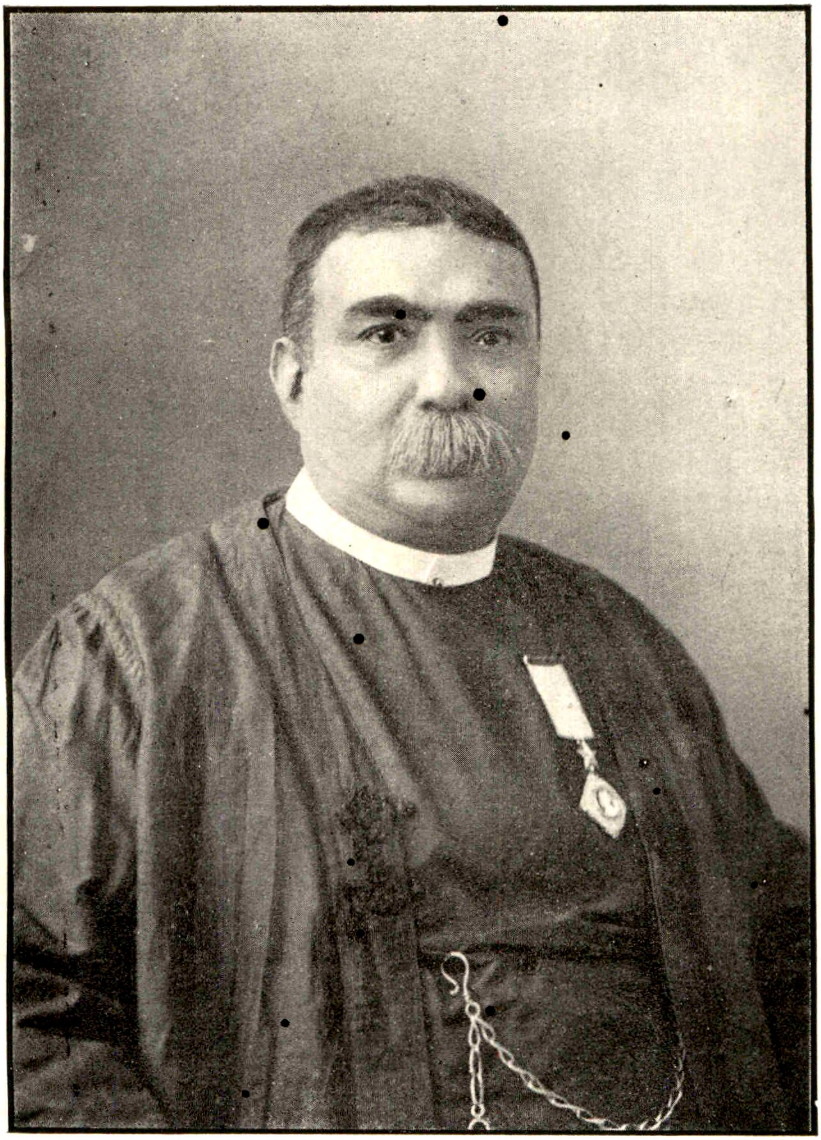
The passing of the University Act of 1904 by the Government of India called for a re-organisation of the older universities which necessitated a very considerable amount of reconstitution. For this good work Dr. Mookerjee, as he then was, stood out as the most suitable man having had inside knowledge of the discussions that led to the passing of the Act and the consequent re-organization that it called for. The prevalent traditions restricted the choice of a Vice-Chancellor to one of the High Court Judges. Dr. Mookerjee was only a practising lawyer and could not, therefore, be appointed Vice-Chancellor. He was, therefore, translated to the High Court Bench by way of official promotion undoubtedly, but at great sacrifice to himself personally as he had to give up a growing and lucrative practice that he was building up as a junior under that veteran lawyer Sir Rash Behari Ghose. Dr. Mookerjee agreed to the sacrifice with alacrity as education was always nearest to his heart and had the benefit of the collaboration of that eminent Mahratta patriot, the late Gopal Krishna Gokhale, in the formation of a scheme of national education for India. He accepted the High Court Judgeship to attain to the Vice-Chancellorship and the University, as he himself put it. He applied himself heart and soul to the framing of the new regulations and reforming the University in such a manner as to make University education in Bengal accessible to the widest possible number of students that can benefit by it and to give it a thoroughly national tilt. He gained the opportunity for putting his ideas into practice when the Government of India commissioned him to take upon himself the responsibility of re-organising the University of Calcutta in accordance with the new Act. In the circumstances of Bengal education at the time it was a settled conviction of Dr. Mookerjee that the best way of reforming the University education with a view to bring about its expansion without unduly sacrificing efficiency was to concentrate all post-graduate teaching at the University and leave the scholars to pursue their function within the comparatively limited field of educating the youth of Bengal up to the degree examinations. In the pursuit of this aim he had to meet a very considerable opposition from various quarters: from those about him, from the Government above him and from a considerable body of people who had to work with him. He set his eyes firmly fixed upon the object to be attained and fought till he won all along the line. As Mr. Archbold, one of those that fought the hardest against him, said "we always fought against him all of us and he always won." This is not the place nor is the time come for a dispassionate examination of the merits of the alternative schemes and how far the successful scheme as inaugurated by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee served the purpose it was intended to. So much, however, can be said without fear of contradiction that from 1908 to 1924 the Calcutta University was for good or evil regarded as Mookerjee's University and as such it was assailed front, flank and rear, and it must be said to the credit of the late lamented Mookerjee that he was able to hold his own, not without benefit to the University and higher education in Bengal. After a term of eight years of Vice-Chancellorship he ceased to be the Vice-Chancellor as he put it humorously, but still stuck on to the Fellows' Bench. It has become the tradition with the Calcutta University that if Sir Asutosh Mookerjee were present at a meeting it was impossible that anything could be done which did not meet with his approval even by way of carrying a resolution. Vice-Chancellors came and Vice-Chancellors went, but Mookerjee's influence prevailed.

The post-graduate scheme of the Calcutta University was entirely a product of Sir Asutosh's brains. It is on this part of his University reform that he has been the most assailed all these many years, and posterity will have to judge of him as an educationist on the success or failure of this scheme as providing for the highest interests of higher education. Such as it was the scheme had been inaugurated and put into operation by him and during the almost fifteen years of its existence it has turned out work which cannot be described at all as not creditable to the University. Responsible opinion has undergone a slow change from mere contempt to a generous acknowledgment of the achievement by those responsible for the work of the Calcutta University. That there are defects and deficiencies is only in the nature of things human, and that all of them that are engaged on the high work have not attained to the same level of performance is only to be expected. Judged on the whole the opinion of Dr. F. W. Thomas, the Librarian of the India Office, may be regarded as eminently just when he remarked in his own quiet fashion that "on the whole the Calcutta University has done good work as shewn by its publication in its post-graduate department."

This post-graduate section of the University is under the management of the Council of Post-graduate Teaching of which Sir Asutosh remained President from its initiation to the day of his death. Such a President he was that it would be difficult, nay almost impossible, to find one to take his place. There are two departments of this post-graduate section; one of them Arts and Letters, and the other Science. The Darbhanga Buildings and the great Library House therein is a monument of the efforts of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee on the Arts and Letters side, and the result of his efforts is visible in the eleven volumes of the Journal of Arts and Letters produced in the last quinquennium and about fifty to sixty works of various value issued by the Calcutta University Press in these departments. Sir Asutosh's work in this branch of University administration may be stated to have attained to an even higher level in his achievement in the field of Science. He is primarily, if not solely, responsible for the Palit and Rash Behary Ghose's foundations which have contributed to place on a permanent footing the Calcutta University College of Science well-equipped and doing work in branches of science which have come in, recently at any rate, for recognition by the highest authorities in Europe and America. It was one of his ambitions that if Sir Rash Behary Ghose had lived longer he would make his donation mount up to fifty lakhs, the additional sum going to perfect the College of Science. But Sir Rash Behary Ghose passed away sooner than was expected for him to have achieved this. But that department of post-graduate teaching is placed on an assured footing for growth and expansion in the course of years, and there is every indication that the nobler sons of Bengal would see to it that the department does not languish for lack of support. He had his own scheme for putting the other section, Arts on a similar footing which he would have succeeded in achieving had he only lived a little longer. He was devoted out and out to the promotion of a study of Indian culture in all its manifold branches, and that was the feature that he wanted to give to this department of the Calcutta University. He used to point out to his friends with the simplicity which is in lurid contrast to what one usually hears of him, his bust which is placed in the Darbhanga Hall with an inscription on the pedestal which is but a copy of an Address presented to him. He was obviously proud of his achievement and particularly that part of it which is indicated in the last couplet "he gave to the mother-tongue a place in step-mother's hall" as indicating the position which he gave to Bengali in the scheme of the University.

The late Sir Asutosh was not a narrow-minded provincialist but regarded himself always an Indian first and Bengali only afterwards. His patriotism took a larger sweep and his whole scheme had for its object the vindication of Indian talent in the fields of higher education and research. He was thoroughly convinced that Indians had a long enough period of tutelage and if Indian talent was worth anything the time had come for giving it an honest trial. He felt very strongly the injustice done to Indian talent by the denial of opportunities for rising to its full stature. Hence in manning the Calcutta University post-graduate section both in the science and arts departments, he made it a point to give as many Indians a chance as he possibly could of distinguishing themselves by work. In selecting the personnel he did not narrow himself down to the limits of his province as lesser patriots might have done. It was not his desire to sacrifice efficiency at all, and would certainly prefer a Bengalee if one of sufficient calibre were available. Failing this he looked out elsewhere in India for an Indian, and it is only when he failed in that that he thought of appointing a European to a position; but whether it was a European or any other that he appointed he took care to select one who, as far as human power could foresee, he believed would do full justice to the position for which he was called. Notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary it may now be said without fear of contradiction that his policy has proved a success in the main. That such was his ideal is exhibited best in the way that the visit of the Prince of Wales to Calcutta was signalised by the Calcutta University. The Calcutta University, in accordance with precedent, proposed the conferment of an Honorary Degree upon His Royal Highness on the occasion of his visit to Calcutta, and the proposition was readily accepted as it was in full accordance with precedent, but Sir Asutosh was not prepared to be satisfied with this. It was through his efforts mainly that he was able to celebrate the occasion by calling a Special Convocation and conferring Honorary Doctorates upon a number of men eminent in the field of learning each in his own particular field of choice. In this scheme he found room for a representative for every province of India in addition to finding a suitable representative almost for every branch of learning. His Address on the occasion was quite worthy of his reputation, and in regard to every one of these scholars he managed to put his finger on the feature peculiar to his scholarship. He was invited by His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore to deliver the Address to the graduates on the occasion of the first Convocation of the Mysore University. He delivered similar Addresses at Lahore, Benares and elsewhere. He was to have presided over the Science Congress in its Bangalore session, but had to keep away on account of ill-health. He was similarly invited to preside over the Third Oriental Conference that is to assemble in December at Madras, but, alas, death carried him away before he could do this. The latest Address that he delivered was before the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, and death overtook him just in that great capital of historical fame after a brief illness. His activities were thus many-sided and he leaves a place vacant which it would be very hard to fill.

Criticism of the Calcutta University centred round the activities of the Councils of Post-graduate Teaching and it is with a view to examining what exactly was the character of this post-graduate institution and on what lines its advance would be in the best interests of that institution that a commission of enquiry was appointed under the greatest educationist of the day, Sir Michael E. Sadler. The Calcutta University Commission, as it was called, went out collecting evidence and making inquiries during the years 1917 to 1919 and issued its Report in thirteen volumes. The report is too well known and has been ever since its issue too much before the public to require an exposition regarding its character. The late Sir Asutosh's influence upon the Committee in the shaping of the final recommendations was considerable, and though the recommendations in the form in which they were placed before the public finally did not meet with Sir Asutosh's approval there is no denying the fact that the general tendency of the recommendations owe a great deal to him. He was subsequently appointed a member of the Pope Committee to inquire into the working of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. There again he bore his part honourably and it was said at the time that it was through his influence that the unanimous report was finally accepted and signed in December, 1921. The administration of the Earl of Ronaldshay saw that the working of the Calcutta University, such as it had come to be, was impossible without him and he was asked to take over the Vice-Chancellorship again. He occupied that exalted office for a term, and he may have continued to hold the office but for the unfortunate Lytton-Mookerjee incident which advanced to the crisis that it did chiefly owing to the fact that neither party understood what exactly the point of view of the other was, though it must be said that the ultimate aim of both was perhaps the same. In regard to this one cannot do better than quote the words of His Excellency Lord Lytton himself who handsomely acknowledged the great work of the late Sir Asutosh, and said that "for many years Sir Asutosh was the University and the University was Sir Asutosh," and that



SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE, KT., C.S.I.

"no worthier memorial could be conceived of than the endowment of that post-graduate department which he had created." He followed up this suggestion with "let each one of us severally resolve that this cherished creation of his life shall not suffer because he had left us. While his great work is still fresh in our minds, while we almost seem to see him sitting in our midst and can still hear echoes of his commanding voice, let all differences be forgotten, all mistakes be forgiven, let us build over his ashes the temple of reconciliation; let us unite in common determination to work together for those changes which are inevitable. If our University is to keep its fair name before the world, let the foundation stone of that temple of reconciliation be joint and the common purpose to receive the teaching University of Calcutta as a sacred trust from his dying hands, and, in years to come, whatever changes may be found essential in the general organization of the University, to allow nothing to threaten its stability, its prosperity, its freedom or its future development." No greater tribute could be paid to his work and by no other than His Excellency Lord Lytton his antagonist in the unfortunate incident. Let us only hope that through the efforts of Lord Lytton and his colleagues in the good work, the Post-Graduate Teaching University of Calcutta would remain a permanent memorial of the cherished activities of late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

Great and forceful personality that he was in public life he was a very simple man with strong family affections and exceedingly fond of children. He was simple in his habits, sincere in his dealings with his friends and always put one at ease that went to him in trouble. He loved his children and no jewel or trinket was made for them without his approval, and when he went to his friends he always regretted if he were unable to play with children and speak to them in their language. He could be described, therefore, as a simple good man at home, and, at the same time, be appropriately

ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE : TRIBUTE OF THE LEGISLATURE.*

I. THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

THE HONOURABLE DR. SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY (West Bengal : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, it is indeed with a heavy heart that I desire to mention the great loss that the country has sustained in the untimely and painfully sudden death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, late a Judge of the High Court and its Officiating Chief Justice for a time. He was, as Honourable Members will remember, a Member of the old Imperial Council to which he came as a representative of the Bengal Council, where he was representing the University of Calcutta, and from his seat on the Imperial Council he went up to his seat on the High Court Bench which he had just recently vacated.

Three of the most important spheres of work where Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was a distinguished figure were the University of Calcutta, the Imperial Council here, and the High Court, and the record of his life during the three periods of his connection would be the history of these three institutions. A man of massive intellect, of wonderful power of organization, an untiring, devoted and ceaseless worker, he was a towering personality. His loss is not only a loss to his friends and to his province, but to the whole country. When yesterday Members of both the Houses heard the sad news, there was a consensus of opinion that, as representing the people of India in the Legislature, it may be recorded in both the Houses what a great and grievous loss has been sustained by the untimely removal of this wonderful personality. Sir, I have no desire to detain the House at any length, because all who knew him knew his worth. Suffice it to say, the whole country feels the great loss that it has sustained and this House shares in that grief. I request you, Sir, as President of this Chamber, to communicate to his bereaved family this sense of our loss.

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* An Extract from the Proceedings of the Council of State, dated the 27th May, 1924.

THE HONOURABLE DR. DWARKANATH MITTER. (West Bengal : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I desire to associate myself with Dr. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary in the expressions of deep sorrow which the whole country feels at the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, whom I knew since 1897 when I joined the Bar of the Calcutta High Court. After a brilliant career in the University, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was elected a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council for three continuous sessions. He was elected in 1903, during the Government of Lord Curzon, a Member of the old Imperial Legislative Council, and, although he was there only for a very short time, his outspoken utterances in the Council which was presided over by Lord Curzon—one of the most brilliant Indian Viceroys —made a deep impression on the public mind and gained for him popularity. He was soon elevated in the year 1904 in the month of June to the position of a Judge of the Calcutta High Court which he occupied with conspicuous ability for a period of nearly 20 years. As a profound and erudite lawyer, his decisions will enrich the legal literature of India to an extent to which it has never been enriched before. But, Sir, apart from his work as a Judge and as a jurist of very great repute, his services to the cause of education will make him most remembered not only in Bengal but throughout the whole of India. His ambition was to make the Calcutta University the centre of learning which would attract to it distinguished men of letters, not only from India but from outside India, and the present post-graduate lecturers and readers of the University, who are drawn from different parts of the country, from America, from Great Britain and from Germany, show that he realised to some extent the ambition which he entertained of making the Calcutta University approach the fame of ancient Nalanda. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was a masterful personality, and his life and example, Sir, will serve to inspire generations of my countrymen. It seems to me, Sir, that it is only fitting and proper that this Council should send a message of condolence to his sons and other members of his family.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MANECKJI DADABHOY (Central Provinces: General): Sir, I desire to associate myself in the expression of sympathy and condolence in the loss the country has sustained in the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was a great patriot and a great Indian. Apart from his work as a lawyer in the Bengal High Court which will always remain a monument of his great industry and his great juridical knowledge, the judgments which he had from time to time pronounced will for ages to come be regarded in this country as monuments not only of great learning but as torchlights for future guidance and information. So far as his energies were concerned, they were mainly confined to Bengal, but India, as a whole, had also received the advantage and benefit of his knowledge, his versatile experience and his wide information. I need only sympathise with the loss which the country has sustained, and I sorrowfully join in the proposal to send a message of condolence to his bereaved family.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The news of the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee came as a great shock to all of us who knew him, and I am sure, also to those, if there are any, who did not know him. I know that the Council will desire that I should convey to his relatives our sympathy on the loss of an old Member of the Imperial Legislative Council, and of such a distinguished son of India.

II. THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.*

DR. H. S. GOUR: (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan):....Another death I have to bring to your notice. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was a Member of the late Imperial Legislative Council. He was one of the most distinguished Judges of the Calcutta High Court. As Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, he has rendered memorable service in the cause of higher education. After serving his full term, he reverted to his first love, the Bar; and, while in harness and in the actual discharge of his professional duty, he has suddenly expired. I request you, Sir, to convey to his son the sad loss which the country has suffered by his death.

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* An Extract from the Proceedings of the Indian Legislative Assembly, dated the 27th May, 1924.

MR. BIPIN CHANDRA PAL (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadan Urban): I desire, Sir, to associate myself with the statement of my Honourable friend Dr. Gour in regard to the friends whom we have lost since we met last time.

The news of the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee came to us yesterday at about 3 or 4 o'clock through the *Associated Press* and it literally stunned those of his countrymen who heard of it last evening. We have not as yet fully recovered from the shock which that news gave us when we have got the news of the death of one of the Members of the last Assembly, Babu Satish Chandra Ghosh. As regards Mian Asjadullah we had heard of his death during the recess.

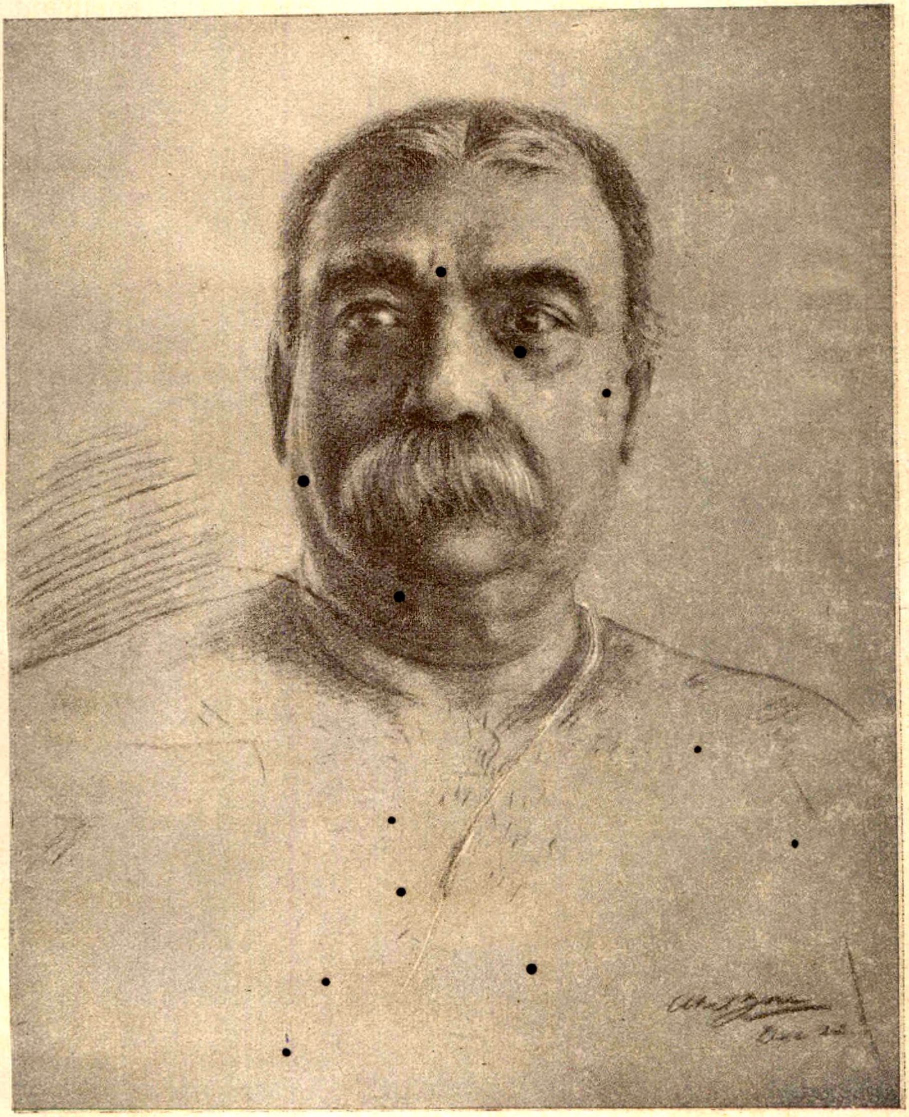
I will not detain this House by dilating upon the excellent services which all these gentlemen rendered to their country in the various spheres of their public activity. The one thing that most impresses us all is the irreparable loss which the cause of Indian education, the cause of University education, and I might add the cause of the Indian political progress also, has suffered from the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. He was the maker of the present Indian Calcutta University and we were looking forward eagerly and with great hopes to the day when he would come to this House, either on this side—who knows that he was not coming on the other side also—but whichever side of the House he would have elected to come to and occupy, we were all looking forward to having him as a great pillar of strength to the cause which we all have at heart. But God has willed otherwise. The Calcutta University, my *Alma Mater*, stands widowed, Sir, to-day, and the place which has been left vacant by the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee will never be filled in our time. The cause of Indian education, the cause of Indian progress, the cause of Indian culture has suffered a loss which it will be impossible to repair in the lifetime of this generation. I will not dilate upon the great character of Sir Asutosh, but this only I will venture to say, and I think we will all agree in saying it, that he was one of the best, one of the strongest, and one of the most capable administrators, educationists and public men that India has had for many and many years past.

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER (Madras: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I desire to associate myself with the tribute which has been paid to the memory of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. The news of his death has come to us all as a great shock. It was only the other day that he retired from the Bench of the Calcutta High Court, and we had looked forward to a long career of public usefulness before him. Unfortunately our hopes have been disappointed. As one who knew him for over 20 years, and as one who belonged to the profession which he adorned, I desire to pay my humble tribute to his great work as a lawyer, as a Judge, and as an educationist. He was a man of brilliant intellect, of varied accomplishments, of prodigious industry and great energy. He had no difficulty whatever in making his mark whether in the academic world or in the legal profession in which he occupied a conspicuous place to the admiration of all. As a lawyer and as a Judge he was a commanding figure. His death removes one of the most outstanding personalities of this generation of Indians. The history of University education in India and especially in Bengal during the last quarter of a century is practically identified with the activities of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. He was largely instrumental in shaping the Universities Act of 1904, and he took a predominant part in the management and guidance of the Calcutta University. His was a dominant personality and it is an irreparable loss that the country has sustained by his death……

THE HONOURABLE SIR ALEXANDER MUDDIMAN (Home Member):……As to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee I had the highest admiration for his wonderful powers of industry, for his capacity and his devotion to all forms of learning. He was the most industrious man that I ever knew. As Registrar I saw a great deal of his work. He devoted hours to elucidating points of law with the utmost care. It was with the greatest regret that I heard of his death, which came to me with a great shock.

MR. DEVAKI PRASAD SINHA (Chote Nagpur Division; Non-Muhammadan):……Sir, coming from Bihar, I think a word of tribute is due from me to the memory of the great Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who died at Patna, the capital of Bihar and Orissa. Only four days before I started for this place, I had the honour of attending a party which was given by the President of the Bar Association of Patna in his honour. Then he mixed with us and talked to us freely, and no one suspected that in a few days the country would hear the news of the terrible loss caused by his death. In his death, Sir, India has undoubtedly lost one of the greatest men of this generation, and this loss is irreparable.

MR. PRESIDENT: I beg to associate myself with what has been said with regard to the loss sustained by the Assembly and by the country in the deaths of Mr. Ghosh, Moulvi Asjadullah and also of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. In Sir Asutosh Mookerjee the country loses a great lawyer, a great educationist and a great patriot.



"THE BENGAL TIGER"

SOME REMINISCENCES OF THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

I was at Simla in connection with the Universities' Conference when the news of the sudden death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was received. Only two days earlier, some of us, delegates to the Conference, were about to send him a telegram requesting his very presence at the Conference which we felt to be an urgent necessity at the turn the discussions were taking on some important and highly controversial topics on which no one could speak there with greater knowledge or authority. To those of us who were privileged to know him intimately, the Conference, as it went on, appeared more and more like the enactment of the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out! But I am not tempted into this expression by its mere literary flavour: for there has hardly been during the last two decades any important educational movement or development in the country which has not associated itself with Sir Asutosh, whether it was the Indian Universities' Commission of 1901, or the Calcutta University Committee of 1904 for drafting Regulations at Simla, or the later Sadler Commission. Some of the new Universities like Mysore and Lucknow sought the inspiration of his Address at the outset of their career.

I am unfortunately not one of those who have served under him directly, and have had daily experience of his outstanding abilities in every sphere of educational or public work. But I know of the public opinion about him outside Bengal, and that opinion is perhaps more to be valued as being more detached than the purely Bengal opinion based on a too close view of him, which is likely to be lacking somewhat in perspective, or obscured by the clouds of controversy that always gather round a dynamic personality. At the University of Mysore in a distant native state under Hindu

Swaraj, I recall with pride how unanimous and universal was the opinion that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee should address its first Convocation and give to the youngest University of India the guidance of the oldest. I recall, too, with pride how great were the expectations formed of the Address and how greater were their fulfilment. His manners contributed not a little to his popularity in a strange place. His well-known dress and accessibility were a surprise to Mysore, pre-eminently a land of formalities. He brought to us an invigorating change from an atmosphere of conventions and courtly etiquette, and bureaucratic reserve and restraint to an atmosphere of freedom, to the frankness, fraternity, and equality of social intercourse, to the abiding relations of affinity between man and man on and for which Sir Asutosh always stood in every sphere of his activities. Thus he made himself felt as a great moral force during his brief sojourn in Mysore. Its effects were felt even at the Court of Mysore, the citadel of conventions and formalities. The Maharaja of Mysore wished to honour Sir Asutosh at a party for which invitations were very select, and special court dress prescribed according to the traditional rules of Mysore sovereigns. But Sir Asutosh won't hear of any formalities: his own national dress claimed his supreme allegiance and he was not prepared to accept any other dress, even if it were the passport to the highest honour and dignity. The prince of Mysore, known for his refined tastes and sensibilities, grasped, and saved, the situation by laying courtly etiquette aside and permitting full liberty to Sir Asutosh in respect of an important convention of the Darbar, and extending that liberty even to his son, Shyamaprasad, who was then with him. How important and strict was this convention will be apparent from the fact that it has been in application ever since the days of the Empire of Vijayanagara whose courtly forms are preserved in the State of Mysore, one of its remnants. And yet the moral force of an individual stood successfully against the force of a long history! Sir Asutosh also made himself known in Mysore for his untiring energy. He was the very spirit of Work! He won't give himself any rest in his waking hours. His Mysore hosts had to arrange for him days over-crowded with engagements to which he was more than equal. Some of these included visits to the many historic places of Mysore where his learned curiosity had to be satisfied by trained guides deputed for the purpose. When he came for the second time to Mysore with the Sadler Commission, I was deputed by the Mysore Palace authorities to receive him in the early hours of a winter morning at the station of Seringapatam in response to his desire that he should first visit that historic place as the gateway to Mysore. Some of his colleagues of the Commission did not feel themselves equal to the task and were less interested in antiquities than in their health and comforts. But Sir Asutosh represented a different type of culture; he felt he could not pass by Seringapatam associated with the memory of Hyder Ali and Tipu with whose descendants in Calcutta he had morever, as he told me, intimate connexions. It must be said to his credit that Sir Michael Sadler caught the spirit and enthusiasm of Sir Asutosh, and at 4 A.M. in winter the two old gentlemen with the enthusiasm and energy of youth had to be conducted to all the historic monuments of the locality with the strain it meant on their physical powers after long railway journeys continued for days.

In the course of my personal contact with him at Mysore on two different occasions, I was struck very much by another aspect of his supremely unconventional nature and simplicity of manners. It was his homeliness, his abounding sympathy for one's domestic difficulties. One could easily establish a touch with Sir Asutosh through private joys and sorrows which would go straight to his heart, and stir it to its depths. Then he would appear as the best of friends. The way to approach him was through his heart. A warm heart was always beating inside, while the man externally appeared to be nothing but Logic and Intellect, Business and Practicality. Yet those who knew him intimately could not have failed to notice the robust idealism which was his real driving power. The man of action was essentially an uncompromising idealist. This was one of the secrets of his highly complex character. I shall ever remember how at the meals in my humble house at Mysore, he made all kinds of searching personal enquiries into the details of my domestic life and circumstances, with his very kind and sympathetic feeling for my old mother who was there on her way to Rameswaram and had prepared some of the sweets for which he expressed an extra relish. I think I am giving voice to the universal experience about him that it is these small incidents of domestic life which really forged the links in the chain that bound so many of us to him in life, and will ever bind to his memory!

The same honour of entertaining him, and the same experience, I again had quite recently at Lucknow in January last, when the University invited him to deliver the Address to its Convocation. But I had a direct experience of him in one particular matter of which I had hitherto only indirect and hearsay evidence. That was his superb debating skill. Of this we had a very delightful personal experience in the wonderful exhibition of dialectical capacity to which we were treated at one of the debates organised in his honour by the Lucknow University Union at which Sir Asutosh Mookerjee allowed himself to figure as the mover of the proposal that Universities should be deemed independent of the control of Ministers or Government. This was one of the principles which engaged his deepest feelings and made him fight the hardest and up to the last. It was the very foundation of his academic creed. We saw him at his best as he set about handling this topic with the free air and manner of a giant flooring a pigmy. The audience was spell-bound by the finest display imaginable of debating powers and parliamentary oratory. Great as a Judge, Sir Asutosh was perhaps greater as an Advocate. It is a pity, nay, nothing short of a tragedy that the country has been deprived by the cruel hand of Death of such an intrepid Advocate to champion its cause. The Lucknow public will ever remember the *im promptu* speech of Sir Asutosh as the best they had heard for a long time. It became then quite clear to me how Sir Asutosh could establish his autocracy over the democracy of the Calcutta University Senate representing the most intellectually advanced community of India. I could easily understand how his dictatorship was inevitable in any organisation or constitution in which he chose to take a place. It was his intellectual supremacy, his power of advocacy, his unrivalled grip over facts and figures, and precedents bearing upon his case that enabled him to wield a public meeting as if it were only " one man's show." Much of the criticism levelled against him for his autocracy at the Calcutta University has missed the natural foundations, and the inevitableness, of that autocracy. He ruled at the Senate by the suffrage of his Fellows, and his methods were really those of unqualified democracy.

It is not for me now to attempt even the barest estimate of his manifold achievements in the spheres of thought and action in which he has led for so many years. I would conclude by summing up his achievements with reference to the Calcutta University as they appear in the detached view of an outsider. When we graduated (1901), the Calcutta University was an examining body, pure and simple. It has since been transformed almost beyond recognition into a regular teaching University. The University now runs three full-fledged post-graduate colleges, which are unique institutions in India; the Colleges of Arts, Science, and Law. Under Arts, the Calcutta University is the only centre in India of certain important modern studies like those of the Indian Vernaculars, Anthropology and Sociology, Pali, Tibetan, and Chinese and Ancient Indian

History and Culture in all their aspects and branches. In the College of Science, the Department of Experimental Psychology is unique in India. The Law College counts about 2,000 students and 50 teachers—which is unthinkable in any other part of India! There have also been started Schools of Agriculture and Commerce by which an old classical University, the home of the Humanities, is gradually modernising itself. All this expansion of Post-graduate study and research in different directions has been due to one man who has both conceived and executed it against all odds. It is by this development that the Calcutta University has easily taken the premier place among all the Indian Universities and become known in the West as the University of India. To condemn some of this development now as rank growth, or to try to reduce it within the so-called limits of its resources, would be to put back the cause of Culture itself in India and deprive the country of the only seats of certain important studies. And a University must not readily admit of limits to its resources, as it does not admit of limits to knowledge! Its resources must expand with every expansion of its activities. A University worth the name must be dynamic. This was the whole position as taken up by Sir Asutosh in his stand for the Post-graduate departments against its many powerful opponents. As regards resources there is a good deal of misconception in the air. The Calcutta University, as I have roughly calculated from its latest Budget, has an annual income of nearly 20 lacs from its own properties, the endowments received from private sources. Is it a very unreasonable or extravagant demand if the University asks the State to make an annual grant of say 5 lacs against its own income of 20 lacs? The suggested proportion of the State grant to the University's own income would be considered flagrantly unjust in any other part of India. It violates the governing principle of government grants to public utilities, which must be at least equal to the contributions from private philanthropy. On this accepted basis, the demand of the Calcutta University must be considered to be extremely modest. Quite recently at Lucknow, Sir Asutosh himself told me in all seriousness that he could engage to have the University with all its departments managed efficiently on a permanent Government grant of only 5 lacs per annum! It is to be hoped that in his absence the collective intelligence of the present governors of the Calcutta University would be able to arrive at some sort of understanding with Government whereby the above very modest estimate of Sir Asutosh of the present and future needs of the University may be finally accepted by them. The time is now opportune for presenting and pressing the claims of the University upon the Government of His Excellency Lord Lytton who, as Chancellor, has so sympathetically dwelt upon them in his last Convocation Address.

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI

ASHUTOSH MUKERJI

It is with deep sorrow that I offer my tribute of appreciation to the memory of Ashutosh Mukerji.

Men are always rare in all countries through whom the aspiration of their people can hope to find its fulfilment, who have the thundering voice to say that what is needed shall be done; and Ashutosh had that magic voice of assurance. He had the courage to dream because he had the power to fight and the confidence to win,—his will itself was the path to the goal. The sudden removal of the vigour of such a personality from among our people has caused it a reeling sense of dizziness, like the blankness of exhaustion following a dangerous loss of blood.

The complex personality of Ashutosh Mukerji had its various channels of expression. It is not in my power to deal in detail with his many gifts which found scope in so many different fields of achievement. My admiration was attracted to him where he revealed the freedom of mind needed for work of creation. He had not the dull patience and submissive efficiency that is content to keep oiled and working the clockwork of an organisation; he despised to try and win merit by diligently turning the official prayer-wheel through an eternity of perfect monotony. It had been possible for him to dream of the miracle of introducing a living heart behind the steel framework made in the doll factory of bureaucracy, though this could only be done through a revolution upsetting the respectability of rigid routine and incurring thereby the displeasure of the high priest of the Machine-idol.

The creative spirit of life which has to assert itself against barren callousness must, in its struggle for victory, wreck things that claim only immediate value. We can afford to overlook such losses which are pitifully small compared to the great price of our object, which is freedom. Ashutosh heroically fought against heavy odds for winning freedom for our education. We, who in our own way, have been working for the same cause, who deserve to be treated as outlaws by the upholders of law and order in the realm of the dead, had the honour of receiving from him the extended hand of comradeship for which we shall ever remember him. In fact, he removed for us the ban of untouchability and opened a breach in the barricade of distrust, establishing a path of communication between his institution and our own field of work, but never asking us to surrender our independence.

Ashutosh touched the Calcutta University with the magic wand of his creative will in order to transform it into a living organism belonging to the life of the Bengali people. This was his gift to his country, but it is a gift of endeavour, of *tapasya,* which will reach its fulfilment only if we know how to accept it.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE CULTURAL NATIONALISM OF THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

THE REGIME OF OPPOSITION.

Seldom has a man concentrated all his hopes in a single institution. Seldom has an institution owed so much to a single man. It is a truism that the Calcutta University was Sir Asutosh and that Sir Asutosh was the Calcutta University. But the truism was never more keenly acknowledged than after his death. By devoting himself whole-heartedly to the work of the University from the year 1889 when he first became a Syndic to the last hours of his life, he made himself absolutely indispensable; his success as a University administrator was due not merely to his organising ability and powers of persuasion and eloquence but also to his complete mastery of details which left absolutely no chance for his adversaries. And his adversaries from time to time were not few. There was a critical period in the history of our University when every liberal advance in courses and studies was misconstrued as the lowering of the standard and the University labelled at the Vakils' conclave. Renowned and influential teachers like James, Wheeler, Archbold, and Watson leagued themselves in the opposition, which attempted to overthrow whatever new measures that were contemplated. But that opposition was ultimately scattered to the winds by the might of Sir Asutosh. Trouble was anticipated when Lord Curzon's University Bill was on the anvil. But the fears and suspicions of the public that the opportunities of higher education were being stinted were allayed by the skill and tact of Sir Asutosh. He adapted the new machinery to the new and expanded needs of a University which was being moulded into shape by the ideals of the rising generation.

Another storm blew over the head of Sir Asutosh and the University during the nationalist revival, a phase of which exposed itself in the boycott of an alien education. The

Senate House was then dubbed as 'Golamkhana'; the most distinguished Post-graduate students boycotted the University examinations. Sir Asutosh defied public opinion and became for a time unpopular. What he felt was that the Indian control of the University administration provided the golden opportunity for reconstructing the University on national lines. And time shewed that he was right. No one defied more the authority of the Government when it encroached upon the jurisdiction of the University. Sir Asutosh found an occasion for gathering the reviving patriotism in the strongly worded protest against the ukases of Sir Bamfylde Fuller who sought to punish the boisterous nationalism that burst forth in some of the schools of Eastern Bengal. Sir B. Fuller wanted to control the schools which he thought necessary in the interests of discipline. But the University claimed its right to interpret discipline and resented the interference of the Government. In the end Sir Bamfylde Fuller had to leave Bengal. Many were the institutions which were thus saved by Sir Asutosh from the unwarranted interference by an exasperated Government, and the importance of his achievement will be manifest from the following list of schools that were threatened from time to time:

1. Habiganj H. E. School.
2. Bhola H. E. School.
3. Batajore H. E. School.
4. Jamalpur Donough H. E. School.
5. B. M. Institution, Barisal.
6. B. M. Collegiate School, Barisal.
7. Baburhat H. E. School.
8. Serajgunj B. L. School.
9. Rajkumar Edward Institution, Bajitpur.
10. Chikandi H. E. School.
11. Jhalakati H. E. School.
12. Serajganj Victoria H. E. School.
13. Kartickpur H. E. School.

14. Banaripara Union Institution.
15. Faridpur Isan Institution.
16. Bangora H. E. School.
17. Gaila H. E. School.
18. Madaripur H. E. School.
19. W. B. Union Institution, Wazirpur.
20. Rahamatpur H. E. School.
21. P. M. College, Tangail.
22. Chittagong National High School.
23. Baisari H. E. School.
24. Maharajganj Merchants' H. E. School.
25. Patiya H. E. School.
26. Bogra H. E. School.

HIS FAITH IN MODERN LEARNING.

That autonomy of the university which was threatened on many occasions has been sturdily and persistenly maintained only because Sir Asutosh formulated the University policy for more than three decades. To this autonomy was harnessed the rising tide of Indian Nationalism which profoundly touched art and literature, the social and humanistic studies in Bengal. Yet Sir Asutosh maintained the right to interpret the educational demands of Indian Nationalism in his own way. Thus when the non-co-operation movement launched its first passion and fury against all educational institutions, Sir Asutosh stood by the *Alma Mater* as her most devoted and unperturbed son defying odds. No assembly within the walls of the Senate covered such an entire gamut of passions as that of the packed mass of students whom Sir Asutosh faced after the classes were all deserted. Sir Asutosh thundered that he would be there even if all the benches were empty. He scolded and he persuaded ; he scoffed and he cajoled. He thus won the day and the next morning found all the classes full. Sir Asutosh had too intense a faith in modern science and learning to accept the panacea of the non-co-operator. He believed, on the other hand, that Science and Modern Thought were the only roads to national efficiency and power. It was thus he served the cause of Indian Nationalism by providing for it a habitation and an opportunity for free self-expression undisturbed by political excitements. Indeed, though himself a lover of free speech and public criticism, his influence within the walls of the University contributed not a little in the direction of studying political sentiment and in clarifying the revived national idealism.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF CULTURAL NATIONALISM.

His long and arduous task of Post-Graduate educational reconstruction where even his close and intimate colleague, the late Sir Gooroodass Banerjee differed from him was meant to subserve the needs of the educational renaissance. But Sir Gooroodass, who was connected throughout with the National Education movement, came to the Senate with his sixty amendments! In his successful effort for introducing the study of the Indian Vernaculars, Sir Asutosh laid the scientific foundation of Indian Nationalism wide and deep. There is no university in India which teaches Bengali, Assamiya, Marathi, Gujrati, Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam, etc. The treasures of our rich vernacular literatures are thus brought home to students, who have hitherto revelled only in a foreign literature. Everywhere an attention to folk-ballads, plays and songs has preceded a romantic, nationalist revival. The impress of the Indian mass-mind over modern creations and movements will inevitably be one of the finest fruits of the culture of vernacular languages and literatures in the premier university of India. Scattered throughout India in the important seats of Mediæval learning there have long existed the various schools for the teaching of Indian Philosophy and Theology. But the specialisms are segregated. In Calcutta there has been established a veritable modern Nalanda.—Vedanta and Nyaya, Smriti and Mimansa, Jyotish and

Alankara have all gathered together in their different schools and interpretations. The scientific and historical study of Hindu Philosophy according to the methods of the Western Scholars supplies here a sorely needed corrective of the methods adopted by the most distinguished Indian savants, who find quite a different scheme and method of teaching adopted next door and often in the same hall within hearing distance. Besides, there is the cultivation of Buddhist and Jaina learning. The Sramans from Ceylon and Burma, and the monks from Tibet, the Acharyyas from Benares and Maharashtra and the erudite Sanskrit scholars from the western Universities, the Maulanas from the Madrasas and the Pundits from Hindustan all make a motley show that truly represents the variegated culture of India. Ancient Indian History and Culture has, on Sir Asutosh's initiative, now formed a subject for M. A. teaching and examination. Indian epigraphy and numismatics, iconography and religious history, architecture and fine arts all form the subjects of special papers. Not less useful for laying the scientific foundations of cultural nationalism has been the orientation of Indian Anthropological studies with special reference to physical anthropology and ethnology. India is a veritable museum of races, and exhibits all the types of social development from animistic and primitive to the more advanced. Yet there is no other university in India which teaches systematically Indian Ethnology and Anthropology. Anthropologists and historians now speak of the diffusion of cultures throughout the Eastern world. There is no doubt that the civilisation which was first nurtured in the level plains of the great rivers of India extended beyond the frontiers of India to Chinese Turkestan and Khotan where the sand-buried cities hide its survivals. It also spread to Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Java and the palm-clad isles of the Archipelago. The history of this Greater India remains yet to be written, while the anthropological study of the affinities and differences between the Negritos of Eastern Asia and Africa and the forest tribes of Southern India will perhaps throw light one day on the ethnic and cultural relation of India with her neighbours. It is in the Calcutta University that the most effective method of solving such important culture problems has been initiated by a correlation of Indian historical and ethnological studies. It is thus that we can really understand the hidden springs and activities of Indian cultural nationalism which undertook for itself the most difficult task not merely of assimilating the diverse races, creeds and cultures within the borders of India but also of diffusing culture among, and assimilating, the more primitive neighbouring stocks beyond the confines of the continent. The new school of Experimental Psychology, that was for the first time in India associated with the study of the Mental Sciences in the Calcutta University, may one day study experimentally the levels of intelligence amongst the diverse stocks and strains, and thus contribute towards the social direction of education of diverse layers of the population.

THE SOCIAL DIRECTION OF RESEARCH.

Many of these trends of Post-graduate education are incipient. They have been discerned only by the master mind and perhaps may have escaped the attention of specialists. But the idea was there, slowly being worked out by the organisation of higher studies, and research. And Sir Asutosh laid more emphasis on field investigation than on library work in such studies. I now recall sorrowfully an occasion which shows his unbounded sympathy for all kinds of first-hand study and observation. I was then teaching in the Calcutta University and had obtained leave in continuation of the Puja recess to study village organisations, castes and tenures in Southern India. The leave was spent and yet I was still touring as a sociological tramp in the tarawads of Malabar. The enquiries were unfinished but the classes re-opened. I sent a wire to Sir Asutosh who most encouragingly preferred work in the fields to class lecturing. And, indeed, the class lectures became more concrete and detailed that session. A great deficiency in teaching Social Sciences in the Universities has been that field work and first-hand studies have been absolutely neglected while the students are given copy book maxims and second-hand generalisations from books that have little reference to the facts and conditions of India. No Indian Vice-Chancellor has as yet acknowledged that both students and teachers of the Social Sciences must as a part of the University routine engage themselves in field work and investigation for which separate funds and opportunities ought to be set apart in every University session. Not merely for field investigation but also for research, pure and applied, Sir Asutosh's enthusiasm knew no limits. No other University provides in its supply of books and scientific periodicals, and other facilities such systematic encouragement of research. And on more than one occasion he has expressed to us the necessity of directing research by social ends.

THE CHANGE IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY.

Perhaps the critic would now ask, what about the more immediate economic problem? By the side of the preparation of the future greatness and fruition of Indian Culture, the problem of its barrenness due to economic deficiency stands paramount and more claimant in its demands. To the solution of such a question, Sir Asutosh addressed himself by the organisation of the University College of Science. The objects of the founders were the promotion and diffusion of scientific and technical education and cultivation and advancement of science, pure and applied, amongst their countrymen by and through indigenous agency. It had been Sir Asutosh's dream to develop the technological side of the University so effectively as to correct and eradicate the Bengalee's natural bias towards the literary vocation. This bias was no doubt encouraged by the fact that when the new education was introduced in India, the idea of scientific and technical education had not dawned upon the English Universities or teachers recruited from them. The University College of Science was well started but the deficiency of funds stood in its way and schemes of technological training and agricultural instruction which were devised after careful study of the conditions abroad could not be carried out effectively. The critics of the University emphasise that education has been distributed unevenly amongst the different classes of the population, the agricultural community as a whole having until very recently being backward in taking advantage of educational facilities. The only way of mitigating the wide divorce which has occurred between the educated university and the illiterate majority and of preventing the wide-spread unemployment of the *bhadralok* would be the stress of professional and technical instruction. Sir Asutosh's own educational policy could not but have undergone an inevitable transformation as new needs and ideals emerged. It was his dream to provide for every village in Bengal at least one graduate. There cannot be any doubt that we find mass life in the villages in Bengal on a much higher level than anywhere else in India. The extensive civic consciousness which has accompanied the spread of higher education has been Sir Asutosh's great contribution towards the modern revival. Sir Asutosh thus laid the basis of university education in community service and satisfied the cultural demands of Indian Nationalism. He contributed even to correct its narrowness and exclusiveness and undertook the difficult task of correlating the academic subjects in such a way as to express fully the needs and possibilities of Indian Nationality, a composite of diverse cultures in different regions. Next, he conceived the university as a true social and civic centre, feeding and being fed by the deep issues of life, designing and inspiring social action and policy. Thus the university was no longer to be an examining body; it was not even to be a federation of colleges but would be a centre for the advancement of learning guided by the social inspiration. By the year 1908 he could declare that under the new constitution Post-Graduate teaching was definitely regarded as one of the duties of the university. Thus the university underwent a transformation like plastic clay in his hands. The elevation of the functions of the university was accomplished through re-organisation, reform, revolution, each term, as he himself puts it, expressing one phase only. But the founder of a teaching university as he was, the builder of the biggest hostels and students' messes in India, he always opposed the creation of a residential university in the suburbs. For he felt that a forced removal would in an atmosphere of academic aloofness and seclusion, postpone the date when the university would be constant in its watchfulness towards a fuller civic and social application of every sort of specialised capacity and training. Furthermore, the problem more pressing, more imperative, *viz.*, technological education arrested his attention. It was his persuasive skill and idealism that evoked India's largest educational benefactions. This work, more than any other, Sir Asutosh left unfinished and perhaps in the near future our policy will lay a special stress on this aspect of our university education. We have at present the purely literary and legal studies dominating. To the lack of opportunity for technological studies are largely due the predilections of Indian students for clerical occupations and the professions; and, indeed, the new teaching universities in other provinces in so far as they are deficient in offering facilities for such studies, do not meet the present educational requirement at all.

It is easy to isolate one aspect of university policy from the rest in order to decry it. The development of the Calcutta University in recent years has shown marked changes in the policy and the continuity of ideals must not be sacrificed in the interests of consolidation. The more important aspects of transformation are represented by the developments of the teaching side and technological and professional instruction, with the control of the teachers over all academic matters. There cannot be any doubt that technological education is an investment which even a bankrupt government might undertake with borrowed funds. The claims of the lower classes who have not profited much from the present system of education and which are now being urged in certain circles will be satisfied not by the spread of a facade type of literary instruction in our primary and secondary schools but by training engineers, agriculturists and artisans in the university who will bring real science and technical education to the villages. In the second place, it is the teachers' initiative and independence which can work out best the highest ideals of a Teaching University, that at present imparts instruction on a much wider range and variety of subjects than found anywhere in India. And it is to the teacher and not to the minister which the country looks for the success or failure of the Teaching University which Sir Asutosh has built up. Only a far-sighted educational policy of the government which thinks in terms of decades rather than those of years, a wide-minded liberalism which keeps aloof from interference with internal developments even when needed, an unswerving loyalty of the teachers, and a conscientious and ever-vigilant public opinion which protects academic freedom, on the one hand, and checks intellectual clique on the other can save the University from the present *impasse*. Sir Asutosh died when he was in the thick of the fight for educational *swaraj*, for securing for the University the fullest independence and the amplest powers in working out its intellectual salvation. Seldom did a man die in the most critical hour in the life of an institution he helped to create.

RADHAKAMAL MOOKERJI

EARLY LIFE OF SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was born on Wednesday, the 29th June, 1864, the corresponding Bengali date being the 16th Aṣāḍh, 1271. The child Asutosh was educated at the Chakraberia Bengali School (now known as the Chakraberia M. E. School) which was then held at a house to the west of the Nafar Kundu Memorial at the Chakraberia Road, South, Bhowanipore, Calcutta. Sir Asutosh's father, Babu Gangaprasad Mookerjee, M.B., was the best medical practitioner of Bhowanipore in those days. Gangaprasad Babu used to live with his younger brother Babu Radhikaprasad Mookerjee first in a house near the modern Jagu Babu's Bazar and then at a house where now stand the premises Nos. 5A and 6 Paddapookur Road. It was from this second house that Asutosh attended the Chakraberia School.

The great architect of the Calcutta University was born with an insatiable appetite for work and when he finished his preliminary course of studies in the Chakraberia Bengali School, he was far in advance of his classmates. Even in his childhood, he was never satisfied with what was his course of studies in the school and read much more at home. Many a day was this fine boy seen reading his text books while on his way to school, for he used to read so many things at home that he could hardly make time to prepare his daily lessons. Even when a boy of ten, he manifested the same dynamic personality which characterised his later days of many-sided activity. Endowed with a gigantic memory he could recite verbatim from the pages he had gone through once.

After having finished his course of studies in the Bengali School, in 1875, he was admitted into the Fourth Class of the Suburban School, Kalighat (subsequently named *The South*

Suburban School, Bhowanipore) which sat in those days at a house belonging to Moulvi Mahammad Habibul Hussein situated at the place where now stand the Empress Theatre Buildings belonging to Messrs. Madan & Co.

A strong determination to be great was Asutosh's even from his early boyhood, and because he wanted to surpass all other great sons of Bengal in after life, he directed every bit of his youthful energy in the pursuit of that end. He worked hard every day for 15 to 18 hours, and even while he was a school-boy he had finished the mathematics course for the F. A. Examination. In mathematics he was far in advance of his classmates, and while yet a school-boy he became a member of the London Mathematical Association and solved a large number of their geometrical problems and won many prizes. Some of these solutions were so excellent that they were accepted in England as original contributions to mathematical studies and these were named after their initiator *"Mookerjee's Theorems."* These "Mookerjee's Theorems" discovered by the school-boy Asutosh are still in favour at the University of Cambridge, the great seat of Mathematical studies, where they are still included in the University curriculum.

There is an anecdote about his extraordinary attainments in mathematics. When Babu Annadaprasad Basu, M.A., joined the Suburban School as a senior teacher of mathematics he heard of his talented pupil Asutosh and wanted to test his knowledge of the subject. Accordingly he set a very subtle problem of simultaneous equations with three unknown quantities for solution in the class. Asutosh solved it easily and began to read another book. It was his habit, unlike the ordinary students, who spend their leisure at school either in idling or in making noise. Certainly a boy that was destined to be so great could not spend the valuable minutes of his life in idleness. After some time Annada Babu wanted to know whether the sum had been worked out by any of his pupils. He knew that none but his illustrious pupil could have done it. The teacher then went up to the board to explain the solution to his class; but unfortunately he himself could not work it out. After making many vain attempts with his forehead streaming with perspiration, he had at last to copy out the solution of Asutosh from his note book. Annada Babu never forgot this defeat from his young pupil Asutosh.

Babu Gangaprasad Mookerji, the illustrious father of this illustrious child, had made excellent arrangements for the education of Asutosh in his early life. As Gangaprasad Babu wanted to train his extraordinary child in many more subjects than were studied by an ordinary student in school, he appointed many good tutors to keep him well in advance of all his classmates. The Hon'ble Mr. Madhusudan Das, M.A., B.L., C.I.E., of Bihar and Orissa (the gentleman who has been known in recent days for refusing the ministership offered to him by the Government of Bihar and Orissa) was his tutor in English and it was from him that be studied Milton and Shakespeare at home while yet at school. Babu Panchanon Paladhi, Lecturer in Sanskrit in the L.M.S. Institution, Bhowanipur, was his teacher in Sanskrit and he used to teach him Kālidāsa. Babu Ramkumar Chakravarti, Professor in the same college and a fast friend of Babu Gangaprasad, supervised Asutosh's studies at home. Babu Syamacharan Basu and Babu Abinashchandra Banerjee were his tutors in mathematics. But, above all, his father, Gangaprasad Babu himself, used to supervise all the work done by his great son.

In order that Asutosh might keep his health in the midst of all this hard work Gangaprasad Babu controlled rigorously his diet and habits as was possible for Asutosh's father who was also a great physician. Asutosh was trained to take a long walk every morning and he kept this habit up to the last working day of his life. Asutosh was not allowed to mix with other boys except in class, so that he could never have an opportunity to be acquainted with their idle and vicious games of cards and dice. He was not even allowed to join in such manly games as football and cricket lest he might contract evil habits from evil companions or otherwise injure himself. When Asutosh had to work hard he was not allowed to take rice, for it brings on drowsiness, but was given bread and broth with other nutritious diet sufficient to maintain health and to sustain him in his hard mental labour. To keep off drowsiness while reading, Gangaprasad Babu's contrivance was a breast-high table at which Asutosh had to read *standing*. Gangaprasad Babu was also a very strict disciplinarian whom Asutosh feared most.

Asutosh was by no means a meek and mild boy and showed even in his boyhood the germs of that courage which enabled him on a famous occasion in his later life to utter forth the soul-inspiring formula,—"*freedom first, freedom second, freedom always.*" The uncommon shrewdness that he manifested in all his educational work was surely not the outcome of a short apprenticeship.

There is an amusing anecdote about one of his youthful escapades. He bore some grudge against his father's landlord, a rather silly old person of drunken habits. So one day he went to the old man and pointing to a large wooden box wondered if it was large enough for such a big man. The silly old fellow fell into the trap and got into the box to show how it could be done. He was promptly shut in by Asutosh just as the jackal in the fable had trapped the foolish tiger.

There is an anecdote about his insatiable love of work and his repugnance of aimless pleasure. A dispute arose one Sarasvatipuja day between Asutosh and his younger brother, Hemantakumar, as to whether the day was to be spent in festive rejoicings or in reading new things. Asutosh insisted that the fittest manner of worshipping the Goddess of Learning was not in making useless rejoicing but in deep devotion to studies. Hemantakumar, on the other hand, proposed to give up all work and join in the day's festivities. A reference was made to their father who decided in favour of Hemantakumar and asked them both to join the company of other boys at the temple of the Goddess of Learning. Asutosh had to obey his father's decision.

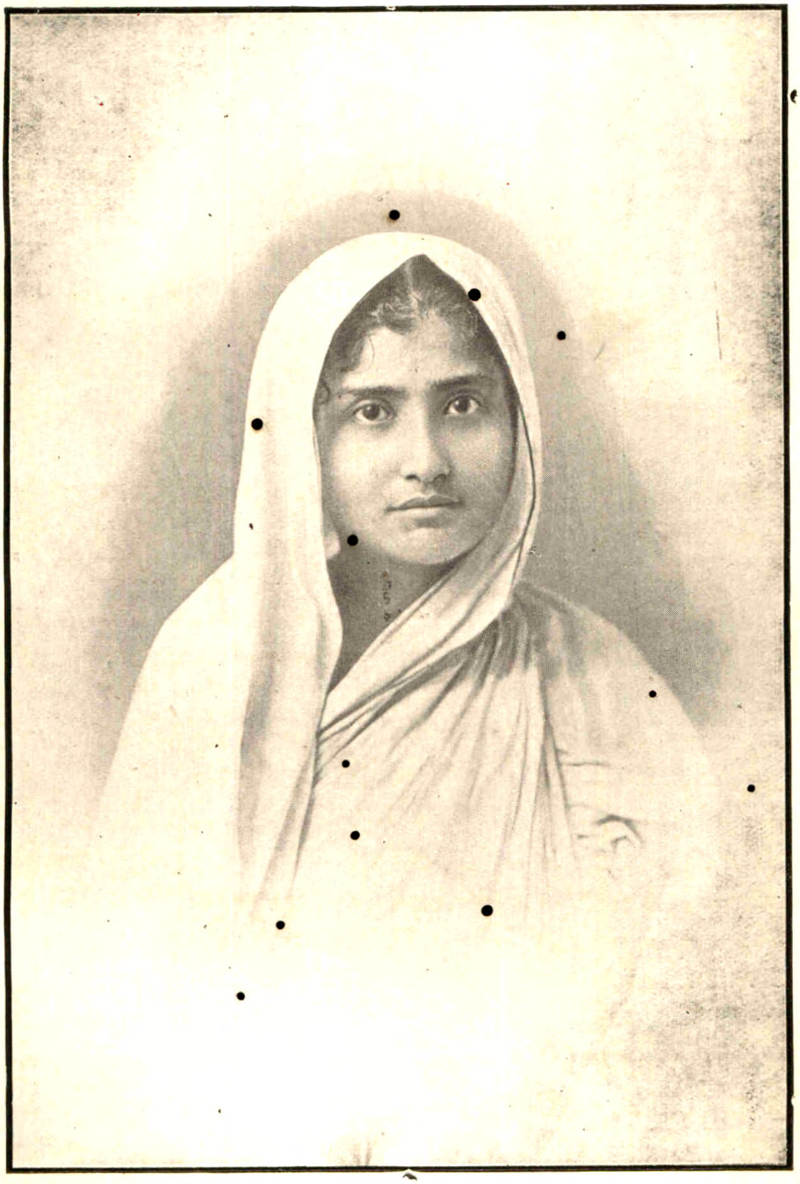
Asutosh appeared at the Entrance Examination of the University of Calcutta in 1879 and stood second in order of merit.

After passing the Entrance Examination Asutosh was admitted into the Presidency College.

A few days after he had joined the first year class in the Presidency College, he was reading Chaucer at home. A fellow student of his who happened to see this, exclaimed with surprise—"What are you doing, Asu ? You are reading Chaucer now ! It is included in the M. A. course in English and you are now only in the first year class ! " Without a moment's hesitation Asutosh replied, "One day I must take the M. A. course in English, what harm in reading it now ? "

He appeared at the F. A. Examination in 1881, but he got the third position in order of merit. This somewhat disappointing result was due to his overworking. On the day previous to the commencement of examination Asutosh kept up reading till late at night without the knowledge of his father, and in order to ward off drowsiness he was standing beside his breast-high reading table mentioned before. But he had reached the limit of his power of endurance and trying to exceed this limit Asutosh dropped down senseless. He remained senseless till he was discovered by his father next morning. With quick medical help he was brought to his senses and sent to the examination hall, for Gangaprasad Babu could not allow a year of his great son's life to be wasted.

Swami Vivekananda (then Narendranath Datta) was a fellow student of Asutosh in the first-year class, but subsequently he joined the General Assembly's Institution, whence he got his B. A. degree in 1884.



SIR ASUTOSH'S ELDEST DAUGHTER
BORN APRIL 18, 1895: DIED JANUARY 4, 1923

Asutosh took up the A course for his B. A. Examination, there being no honours courses in his time. The subjects he took up were English Literature, Mathematics, Sanskrit Literature and Philosophy.

While Asutosh was a B. A. student his knowledge of mathematics was acknowledged to be extraordinary, for he had already finished the M. A. course by that time. In the opinion of some he knew more than some of his teachers. In order to test the merit and patience of this uncommon boy, his whimsical teacher, Prof. Booth, used sometimes to set every day 50 to 60 problems to be solved at home as home-task for several days, but Asutosh was always Asutosh and was never to be defeated in this way.

When Dr. MacCann, his other teacher in mathematics, died in June, 1883, Asutosh started the MacCann Memorial Committee in the Presidency College and was himself its Secretary. In this capacity he displayed his great power of organisation and gave sure indications of his uncommonly fine abilities, which in future years he was to use in building up so many institutions with which he was connected. He found funds for the perpetuation of his teacher's memory and endowed the MacCann Medal in the Calcutta University.

He passed the B. A. examination in 1884 standing first among all the candidates in the A and the B courses combined. Within six months of his passing the B. A. examination he passed the M. A. in Mathematics in 1885, standing first in the first class. In the next year he passed the M. A. with Physical Sciences and he passed the Premchand Roychand Studentship Examination winning the Mouat Medal and a scholarship of Rs. 1,600 a year for a period of five years. Not satisfied with the P. R. S. in Mathematics and Science, he wanted to appear at the P. R. S. examination next year in literary subjects and applied for permission of the Syndicate, but the Syndicate did not entertain his application as he had already been receiving one scholarship.

Law was not at first the aim of Sir Asutosh's life. The one object of his life had been from the first the education of Bengal. But when he saw that he had no chance of being appointed in the superior service in the education department and that in spite of extraordinary intellectual attainments he was only offered a post in the Provincial Educational ervice in the Presidency College, he turned his attention to law as a profession. He had already won the Tagore Law Gold Medals for his proficiency in law as a student under Mr. Ameer Ali, M. A., the then Tagore Professor of Law. He read law in the City College and got the B. L. Degree in 1888.

As he had already completed his articles under Babu (afterwards Sir) Rashbihari Ghosh, Asutosh was enrolled as a Vakil of the High Court in the same year in which he took B. L. In 1894, he got his Doctorate in Law.

Although he took to law as a profession he never forgot his unshaken determination to lead the educational movement in Bengal. The first obstacle he met in not getting an educational appointment was insignificant in comparison with far greater obstacles he successfully overcame in after-life.

Such is the outline of the early life of the great personage who was at the helm of our University. His unceasing efforts to equip himself to be the greatest son of Bengal, his firm determination to accomplish whatever he undertook, and his insatiable love of work are examples for the younger folk to imitate and follow.

BASANTA KUMAR CHATTERJEE

REFERENCES TO THE MIGHTY DEAD

Minutes of the Syndicate

The 31st May, 1924.

The following resolution was adopted in solemn silence, all the members present standing :—

We, the members of the Syndicate, in a special meeting convened for the purpose, place on record an expression of our profound grief at the death of our revered colleague, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. As Vice-Chancellor or as an ordinary member of the Syndicate he had been intimately associated with its work since 1889. For thirty-five years he placed his outstanding intellectual powers and his unrivalled energy ungrudgingly at the service of his colleagues, thereby enabling them to carry out a task which year by year became more difficult, laborious and exacting. The remarkable developments in the work of the University during the last two decades which it was our privilege as the representatives of the Senate to direct, were largely the product not only of his constructive genius but of the selfless, incessant and devoted toil, which he brought to his task as a member of our body. The personal and private sorrow which we each individually feel at the loss of our distinguished colleague is intensified by our keen sense of the irreparable injury to our work which will be caused by the absence of his indefatigable energy, his directive skill and his unique knowledge and experience. In paying our sorrowful tribute of respect to the friend, colleague, and leader whom we have lost, and in placing on record our profound admiration for the services rendered to the cause of education by the work which he accomplished as a member of our body, we express the hope that the memory of his devoted labours may inspire those of us who remain, and those who follow us, to imitate his great example, and dedicate all the powers which they possess to the service of their University and to the achievement of that object for which he lived, the advancement of learning amongst the people of his motherland.

RESOLVED—

That a copy of the resolution be forwarded to the eldest son of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, our colleague Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee, for communication to Lady Mookerjee and the other members of the family.

E. F. OATEN,
Chairman.

J. C. GHOSH,
Registrar.

Proceedings of the Council of P.-G. T. in Arts

The 30th May, 1924.

(1) On the motion of Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L., seconded and supported by Mr. Panchanandas Mookerjee, M.A., and Mr. Nirmalchandra Chatterjee, M.A., the following resolution was passed *nem con* in solemn silence, all the members remained standing all the while.

RESOLVED—

That this Council places on record its sense of deep sorrow and irreparable loss to Post-Graduate Teaching of the Calcutta University by the sad and sudden demise of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the President of the Council since its inauguration and the greatest educationist of India, as also its grateful recognition of his unflagging zeal to the cause of advancement of learning, of his fostering care to promote research by Indian scholars and of his constant solicitude for the welfare, repute and independence of the institution, and no less its genuine admiration and affectionate regard for his personality, genial, lovable and at the same time commanding.

(2) Dr. Benimadhab Barua, D.Lit., proposed and Mr. J. R. Banerjea M.A., seconded.

That a message of condolence be communicated to the members of the bereaved family.

The motion was put to the meeting and carried *nem con* all the members standing.

(3) Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar proposed and Mr. Satischandra Ghosh, M.A., seconded

That a Committee consisting of the following members with powers to add to the number be formed to consider what steps should be taken to perpetuate the memory of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in this Department.

Dr. Henry Stephen, M.A., D.D., Ph.D., President.
Prof. P. N. Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., M.L.C.
Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, M.A.
Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
S. Khuda Bukhsh, Esq., M.A., B.C.L.,
Dr. Adityanath Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D.
Dr. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Phil.
Prof. J. C. Coyajee, M.A., LL.B.
Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Lit.
Rai A. C. Bose Bahadur, M.A.
Dr. G. N. Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.—Secretary.
Satischandra Ghosh, Esq., M.A.—Treasurer.

The motion was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

W. S. URQUHART,
Chairman.

G. N. BANERJEE,
Secretary.

Perpetuating Sir Asutosh's Memory

C. R. DAS—THE MAYOR OF CALCUTTA.

"A painting or a picture or the erection of a bust or a statue cannot commemorate the greatness of great Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. His was a dynamic personality. We want something living—we want something growing to commemorate in a fitting manner his greatness—something which will carry with it the message of the struggle of to-day with the fullness of to-morrow."

RAJA OF SANTOSH'S SUGGESTION.

The Raja of Santosh has made a suggestion to His Excellency the Chancellor to name the new University buildings, now under construction, in College Street, "Sir Ashutosh Buildings," or, dedicate to and name after Sir Ashutosh the present historic Senate House as a stepping stone to further memorials to be erected in honour of the greatest educationist of Bengal.

A Humble Admirer of Sir Asutosh writes:

May I make a humble suggestion? It appears to me that one of the most permanent and the quickest way of perpetuating the late Sir Asutosh Mukerjee's memory is to re-name Russa Road, as Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee Road. May we not expect our new Corporation Councillors to see if this can be given effect to?

In this connexion I desire to recall for public information that when the present Harrison Road was under construction it was proposed to be called "The Victoria Road." All on a sudden Mr. Harrison the Corporation Chairman died and the Municipal Commissioners of those days unanimously and with full public support christened it after the deceased.

And it is to be noted that 'Victoria,' was then the Queen Empress.

ART GALLERY IN MEMORY OF LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

SCHOOL OF ARTS,
JAIPUR,
27th June, 1924.

To
THE EDITOR,
Calcutta Review.

SIR,

So much speculation is going on to find out the best means to perpetuate memory of the greatest Educationist of modern India, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. May I humbly ask you to allow me a little space in your highly esteemed paper to propose on behalf of the artists of Bengal to erect a Memorial Art Gallery, for the public which will contain best representative collections of both ancient and modern paintings of the country. As a matter of fact this is not a new and novel proposal I am making in this direction, as you know, Lord Carmichael, late Governor of Bengal, too, had felt the great need of a Public Art Gallery in India and wished to set apart a portion of the Belvedere Palace for the said purpose. But as ill luck would have it for Indian Art, his noble proposal was nipped in the bud owing to the great disastrous war. Lately, Sir Asutosh took great interest in the art movement originated by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, C.I.E., and offered him a Chair in the University to instruct his post-graduate pupils in Indian Art. May we, therefore, pray to the public as well as to the students of Sir Asutosh to take the matter seriously in consideration for the sake of perpetuating art of the country by associating the name of the great man of our time who took such a lively interest in every branch of learning in Bengal. Let me also suggest here that the finest collection of Mr. G. N. Tagore may be purchased and preserved in the Gallery which I believe, otherwise, will unfortunately go out of the country to some rich man either in England or in America.

The Gallery should be designed by some expert Indian Artist and must be of a typical Indian style. Dr. A. N. Tagore may also be persuaded to take up the charge of the Gallery who will be able not only to improve it by his wonderful work but will also be able to inspire others in art. Why not, then, try to enrich India by adding a Memorial Art Gallery in Calcutta which we think will also be the fitting memorial of the great son of Bengal, late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. While concluding may I also suggest here that such a Memorial be connected with the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, which is a living organisation founded by Dr. A. N. Tagore and supported by many notable men including the Governor of Bengal.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
ASIT KUMAR HALDAR.

Life Sketch

Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, one of the most outstanding personalities in the public life of India, was born in Calcutta on June 29, 1864. His father Dr. Gangaprasad Mukherjee was an eminent physician and a much esteemed citizen of Calcutta. After finishing the preliminary course in a vernacular school (1869-72) Ashutosh was taken in hand by his father under whose direct supervision he prosecuted his studies till 1875 when he was admitted into the South Suburban School and Matriculated in 1879 at the age of 15 standing second in the list of the successful candidates. His under-graduate career in the Presidency College (1880-84) was one of uniform brilliance and in 1884 he topped the list in the B.A. examination. He took the degree of M.A. in Mathematics next year and in Physical Science in 1886. The same year he was awarded the Prem Chand Roy Chand Scholarship and admitted as Fellow of the Royal Society (Edinburgh). He completed his law lectures in the City College and passed B.L. in 1888. The same year he was enrolled as a Vakil of the High Court, having at the same time completed the period of articleship under the late Sir Rash Behary Ghosh. He had been a Fellow of the Calcutta University since 1889. The Doctorate of Law was conferred on him in 1894 and his "Law of Perpetuity" embodying the lectures delivered as a Tagore Law Lecturer is no less authoritative, though not so well-known, than the Law of Mortgage by his legal Guru Rash Behary.

Educational Activities.

He entered the Bengal Legislative Council in 1899 as the Representative of the University and was re-elected, two years later. He represented Bengal in the Indian Universities' Commission appointed by Lord Curzon and took his seat in the Provincial Legislative Council for the third time in 1903 as the representative of Calcutta Corporation. The same year the Bengal Council sent him to the Imperial Legislative Council as its representative. In 1904 he became a judge of the Calcutta High Court.

He was made the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University in 1906 in succession to Dr. Gurudas Banerjee, the first Indian to hold that honorary but highly responsible post. From 1906 to 1914 Ashutosh's indomitable personality, tact, perseverance and spirit of Reforms changed the somnolent atmosphere of the Calcutta University and the re-actionary character of the Indian Universities' Act—Lord Curzon's instrument for limiting the scope of High

Education—proved in his hands a veritable charter of a University under all but complete non-official control. The prestige of the University rose as it never did since its creation in 1857.

His name became a household word in Bengal, nay in all India.

Sturdy Independence.

His infinite capacity of taking pains enabled him to know during this unprecedentedly long period of continuous Vice-Chancellorship every nook and corner of the University administration, though all this time his duties as a Judge of the premier High Court in India were fairly exacting. His solicitude for students his devoted zeal to the cause of Indian Education and his independence made him as popular to his countrymen as an object of suspicion to the Indian bureaucracy. In 1914, therefore, at the expiry of the last term of two years, Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary was appointed as his successor. Sir Devaprosad was a well meaning solicitor and educationist of some standing but his misfortune was that he succeeded a giant of overshadowing personality and indomitable vigour and energy—and this was the talk of the whole province. Sir Devaprosad was, not, therefore, able to make any impression and the same may be said of his two successors, Sir Lancelot Sanderson, Chief Justice of Bengal and Sir Nilratan Sircar. In 1921 when the movement of Non-co-operation was at the zenith of its success, the Calcutta University was saved from being altogether wrecked by the one man who could make some stand against the onrush of the popular tide of enthusiasm for the destruction of what was called the " golamkhana."

A Controversy Recalled.

He accepted the Vice-Chancellorship again in 1921 at the special request of Lord Chelmsford and Lord Ronaldshay—both of whom knew the stuff of which Asutosh was made. Those who were present at the memorable Convocation held in 1923 would never forget the severe trouncing the Government received at Asutosh's hands in the Vice-Chancellor's address in the very presence of the head of the province—the Chancellor—for the niggardly way in which the University was being treated. The acrimonious controversy which centred round the Post-Graduate department of the University and the general educational policy pursued by Asutosh is of too recent date to require mention. It is also needless to recall how taking advantage of this controversy which was gradually becoming crystallised into a personal attack against the " Tiger of College Square " as he was popularly called, the Government of

Bengal refused to help the University in its undoubted financial need and how Asutosh replied to the insulting letter of Lord Lytton. Suffice it to say that in the stiff fight that he carried on against the Government in its attempt to officialise the Calcutta University by legislation, Asutosh had the support of all educated Bengal except a microscopic number who had their own reasons for siding with the Bureaucracy in a vital matter like this.

Most Complex Character.

His was indeed a complex character which defies analysis. As Sreejut Bepin Chandra Pal remarks in his " Sir Asutosh Mukherjee —a Character Study ":

" Sir Asutosh Mukherjee is the most complex public character that I have seen. And it has been my privilege to see, at more or less close quarters, most of the men who have made the religious, social or political history of India during the last half a century. This complexity is, I think, responsible for the widely divergent estimate that diverse people have formed in him. He has enthusiastic admirers, whose admiration often-times verges on fulsome adulation. He has persistent detractors whose detractions seem sometimes to take the colour of malice. But there is one matter in which both his admirers and detractors seem generally to agree and it is that he is by far the most powerful public character of his generation."

Sir Asutosh's membership or Presidentship in numerous Associations and public bodies, mostly educational, his service to the cause of education as a member of the Sadler Commission whose recommendations were not given effect to by the Government for want of fund, his addresses at the Mysore, Lahore and Lucknow Universities are only indications of what genius can do when aided by vigour, perseverance and an indomitable will.

* * *

Hardly had the people recovered from the shock of the death of Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri when the news of the sudden and so unexpected passing away of Sir Asutosh Mukerji came as a bolt from the blue.

The Fatal Illness.

It was on Sunday night the following message was received from Patna:—

Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, who had been here in connection with the Dumraon case, died this (Sunday) evening.

He had been suffering for the last three or four days from acute dilation of the stomach.

Till Friday morning last Sir Asutosh was apparently all in good health. On the same morning he as usual went out on his early constitutional walk. Suddenly he felt uneasy and returned home. He had several motions and felt a severe pain in the stomach and was placed under the treatment of local doctors. But as the day wore on the attacks became severe and information was sent to Calcutta to send a doctor at once. Accordingly same evening Dr. P. Nandy left for Patna and reached the place early Saturday morning. He attended to his illness at once and diagonised that Sir Asutosh had been attacked with acute dilation of the stomach and declared the case hopeless. Babu Ramaprasad Mukerji, his eldest son and Babu Pramatha Nath Banerji, his son-in-law who were there at Patna, felt much concerned and wired to Lady Mukerji to come there at once with another lady for nursing. Meantime another wire was sent to Babu Shyamaprasad Mukerji, Sir Asutosh's second son, at Simla, to come down to Patna at once with Dr. Nilratan Sarkar who was there in connection with the University Congress. Babu Shyamaprasad with Dr. Sarkar and Dr. C. V. Raman booked for Patna at once but unfortunately reached their destination on Sunday evening just a little bit late when the great soul had already passed away. Lady Mukerji along with another lady who left for Patna by Sunday's Punjab Mail met at Jajha the special train conveying her dead husband and returned from there in the same train.

The news reached Calcutta late Sunday night and on Monday morning it spread like a lightning flash from mouth to mouth. Such a calamity people were not prepared for and they were at first inclined to disbelieve it. The morning papers however set all their fond doubts at rest. The news shocking as it was cast a gloom over the whole city and for a time the whole populace, especially the enlightened section of the community, were beside themselves with grief and forgetting their day's work all proceeded towards the Howrah Station, to pay their last homage of reverence and respect to the departed great, where the Special conveying the dead was expected to reach at 8 a.m. Streams of people, young and old, rich and poor in barefoot wended their way towards the direction.

At Howrah Bridge.

But unfortunately there on this side of the Howrah Bridge an unexpected incident checked the onrush of the mourners for a time as owing to the snapping of some iron chains the Bridge had to be kept upon from half past seven in the morning till noon and all traffic across was suspended. The ferry service being quite inadequate and irregular the river boats were in much demand and several thousands of people crossed over to the other side by that means. Before the appointed time for the Special to arrive at Howrah a vast concoursé of people, the like of which has seldom been seen and which recalled the vast gathering that waited at the Howrah Station to receive Mrs. (Now Dr.) Annie Besant as President of the Indian National Congress, 1917—had already assembled there. A body of Congress volunteers with the National flag flying was already on the scene and quite a fleet of motor cars, and vehicles stood in a line to form a funeral procession. Punctually at 10 a.m. the special train conveying the earthly remains of Sir Asutosh steamed in and a shrill and mournful murmur passed through the huge assemblage that waited there. To the lowest computation not less than ten thousand of his countrymen gathered at platform No. 1 to pay their last homage to Sir Asutosh. Thousands that could not make their way inside the platform stood outside for more than a couple of hours in the hot sun. As soon as the train was sighted the Sankirtan party that was kept waiting struck up a mournful dirge and all eyes seemed wet with tears. The body profusely garlanded was then taken down and placed in a spacious bier heavily decorated with flowers and foliage. There was a wreath on his forehead. It lay in that state for about two hours, during which people of all condition, young and old, had a reverential glance at it. The mourning was universal and it was a touching sight to see that scarcely one had his eyes dry. Even the cartmen who numbered many thousands at Howrah, left their ply and kept standing for hours looking at the venerable body.

At the Railway Station.

On arrival of the train Lady Mukerji fell in a state of collapse and had to be removed to a motor car where she lay for some time and after some restoratives were applied she recovered a bit and was conveyed home.

Among those present in the platform to pay their respect to the late deceased gentleman were the Hon. Mr. A. K. Fuzlal Huq, the Hon. Justices Sir N. R. Chatterjee, C. C. Ghose, B. B. Ghosh, and

M. N. Mukerjee, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Deputy Mayor, Calcutta Corporation, the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, Prof. C. V. Raman, Mr. Shamsunder Chakravarty, Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, Sjs. Mrinal Kanti Bose, Bejoy Krishna Bose, Nirmal Chunder Chunder, the Raja of Tahirpur, Raja Monilal Singh Roy, Raja Bahadur of Santosh, Mr. Anil Baran Roy, Mr. Hemendranath Das Gupta, Mr. S. M. Bose, Dr. J. N. Maitra, Nawabzada A. F. B. Abdul Ali, Messrs. C. C. Sinha, Nityadhon Mookerjee, Dr. Girindranath Mookerjee, Dr. Adityanath Mookerjee, Rai Bahadur S. C. Mitter, Rai Bahadur Dr. G. C. Sen, Mr. K. B. Barua representing the Bengal Buddhist Association, Mr. R. Mazumdar, Superintendent, College Street Market and staff, Krishna Kumar Mitter, Sj. Monmathanath Rai, Mr. H. D. Bose, Mr. S. C. Roy, Mr. D. C. Ghose, Dr. N. N. Sett, Prof. S. C. Ghosh, Mr. P. C. Mitter, Mr. J. C. Mookerjee, Deputy Executive Officer, Calcutta Corporation, Dr. A. Suhrawardy, Dr. J. M. Das Gupta, M.L.C., Sir Kailash Chandra Basu, Kumar Shiva Sekhareswar Roy, Dr. Bhandarkar, Rai Bahadur A. C. Bose, Kavirajes Jamini Bhusan Roy, A. N. Roy, Mr. Biraj Mohan Mazumdar, Mr. C. C. Biswas, Mr. N. C. Sen, Prof. Arun Chandra Sen, Mrs. Kumudini Bose, Miss Latika Ghose, B.A., and others.

Port Commissioners' Service.

The Port Commissioners' ferry service was perfectly scandalous. The bridge was to have closed at 9-30 a.m. and even till 1 p.m. traffic had not been resumed. But no proper ferry service was arranged for coping with the crowd and the rush. There were two ferries—but instead of plying swiftly for some unknown reason it took about an hour to cross over. The result was that about ten thousand people with the dead body in procession had to wait for two hours in the sun. Mr. Fazlul Huq telephoned to the Chairman, Port Commissioners for a special steamer in the event of the traffic not being resumed but to no purpose. The ferry service being inadequate the crowd at the ferry ghat began to swell and the police used sticks to keep back the rush. As a result, several gentlemen were injured.

The Procession.

Placed on the bier and carried shoulder-high by several students, two of Sir Asutosh's sons and Dr. J. N. Maitra being the pall bearers, the body was then taken in a procession to the bridge-head where owing to the opening of the bridge they were held up for a considerable time. After a delay of nearly two hours the body was taken across in the ferry steamer *Buckland* to the Calcutta side where a procession was formed composed of thousands of people waiting there. Congress volunteers with Swaraj flags flying taking the lead. It moved on amidst cries of ' Horibol ' and " Bande Mataram " and proceeded slowly towards Harrison Road. All pedestrian and vehicular traffic were suspended for the time along the route the procession passed and men and women of all ages thronged the footpaths and highroads. The housetops, balconies and windows having had their human loads men and women in full. The huge procession passed in silence the crowd looking at it with great reverence.

At the Senate House.

The procession passed along Harrison Road and College Street and reached the Senate House. The bier was taken to the portico of the Senate building where besides a large number of students, barefooted Senators, Syndics, Fellows and Professors made their last obeisance to their friend, philosopher and guide. Among those present here we noticed: Mr. Justice Suhrawardy, Dr. P. K. Mahalonabis, Dr. Meek, Mr. Tribhubandas Heerachand, Dr. A. Suhrawardy, Mr. Hemendra Prosad Ghose, Mr. Khondkar, Babu Kishorilal Ghose and Rai Bahadur K. C. Bose.

Here a most touching scene presented itself. The people present, specially students and professors, were visibly moved to see their hero lying in-state in a place which was the scene of activities of the great man they were honouring. After a halt of about half an hour the procession restarted and passed through College Street, Wellington Street, Dhurrumtollah Street and Chowringhee. At Chowringhee the processionists instead of walking through the main road passed through the shady walk on the eastern side of the maidan where Sir Asutosh used to take morning constitutional. The procession made a temporary halt before the house of Sir Asutosh to enable the ladies to have a last look of him. From Bhowanipore to the Keoratola Burning Ghat the procession grew, immensely in dimension, fully fifteen thousand people following the bier to the burning ghat. Here again people of all ranks, high or low, without distinction joined the procession, the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan in his car leading the way and clearing the road.

At the Cremation Ground.

At the Keoratola Ghat a crowd of at least 15,000 had collected. The Calcutta High Court and other Government offices were closed in the meantime in honour of the deceased and lawyers and clerks flocked to the burning ghat. Practically the whole of Bhowanipur turned out, men, women and children and elbowed each other to catch a last glimpse of the departed and the whole place, the big area of the burning ghat and surroundings were one sea of human heads. The two sides of the river Adi Ganga on which the ghat stands were lined with mourners. Judges of the High Court, lawyers, merchants, representatives of the Press, professors, students, Syndics, Senators, and Fellows of the Calcutta University, in fact all interests and classes, were well-represented at the homage that was paid to one of the noblest and greatest sons of India and the pride of Bengal. Among those present we noticed Maharaja of Natore, Maharajdhiraj of Burdwan, Messrs. K. N. Chuadhuri, N. Chaudhuri, Aswini Kumar Chaudhuri, N. N. Sarkar, Langford-James, Surendra Nath Mallik, Santosh Kumar Bose, Hemendra Nath Das-Gupta, Hemendra Nath Guha Roy, Raja Janakinath Roy, Dr. C. V. Raman, Capt. O. Ahmad, Babu Basanta Kumar Bose, Babu Ramaprasad Chanda, Dr. A. Suhrawardy, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Messrs. Daud, Hidyat Hossain, Abdur Razak, Prof. Tarapurwalla, Justices C. C. Ghose, B. B. Ghose, N. R. Chatterji, Dwarakanath Chakravarti, Babus Mudan Mohan Burman, Manmatha Nath Roy, Dr. Urquhurt and many others.

The body was then carried outside the compound of the Burning Ghat and placed on the river bank. Flower wreaths, boquets from friends, relatives and admirers poured in and the body was literally embedded in the heap that was made. It was kept surrounded by his sons, relatives, the volunteers forming a cordon round the bier. The scene that followed was touching to the extreme.

At about 4 p.m. the body was placed on the funeral pyre just by the side of the place where only a few months ago the body of another of Bengal's great sons, the late Aswini Kumar Dutt, was turned into ashes, one of Sir Asutosh's sons performed the last rites and set fire to the pyre and his mortal frame was consumed to ashes by 8 p.m.

Patna's Last Homage.

At about 12 midnight the dead body of Sir Asutosh Mukerji was conveyed to Calcutta by a special train.

His eldest son, Babu Rama Prasad Mukerji, and son-in-law, Babu Pramatha Nath Banerji, were present throughout his brief illness, but his second son, Shyama Prasad, arrived with Sir Nilratan Sarkar an hour and a half too late. They decided that the last rites should be performed in Calcutta.

As soon as the tragic news spread throughout Patna a large number of people of all communities flocked to pay their last homage to one of the greatest men of the world. Over five hundred persons were present at the station at midnight when the body was sorrowfully placed into a special train and carried away to the city which was Sir Asutosh's centre of activity.

COURTS AND PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS CLOSED.

As a mark of respect to the memory of Sir Asutosh Mukerji the High Court and all the subordinate courts were closed on Monday.

Alipore Courts Closed.

On account of the death of Sir Asutosh Mukerji a reference was made to the District Judge, Mr. G. N. Ray, I.C.S., yesterday morning. The Judge after expressing his deep regret ordered for the suspension of all business and closed all the Courts.

A similar reference was made to Mr. J. H. Lindsay, I.C.S., the District Magistrate, 24-Purganas, by Babu Upendra Chandra Das-Gupta, Vakil, headed by all the criminal practitioners. The Magistrate remarked that he was so sorry that pre-eminently the biggest man of any nationality had expired and consequently he had already ordered for closing of all the Courts and offices.

Pleaders of both the Courts, the muktears, the officers and the litigant public left to attend the funeral ceremony of the departed great at the burning ghat.

Sealdah Court.

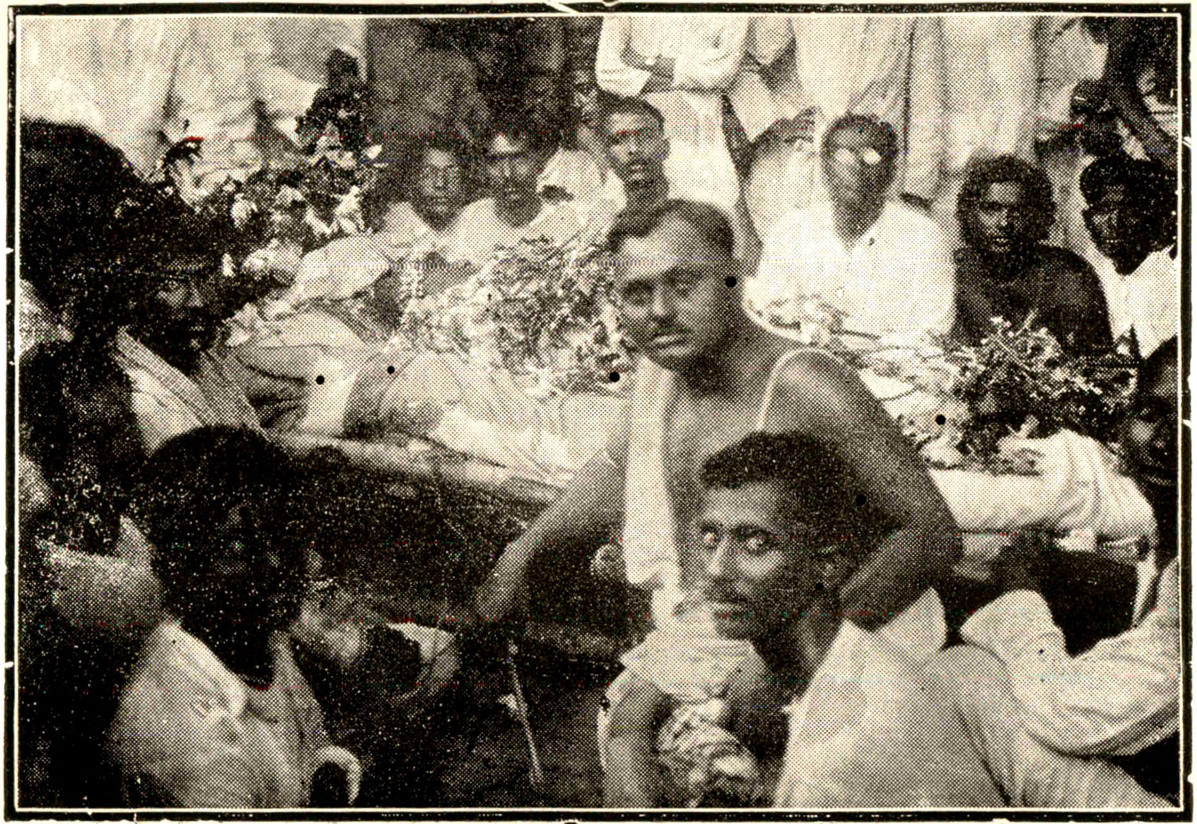
In memory of the late Sir Asutosh Mukerji the Sealdah Police Court remained closed on Monday.

Police Courts and Office Closed.

Reference was made to the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, by Rai Bahadur T. N. Sadhu, Public Prosecutor, at Bankshall Street Court yesterday.

The Public Prosecutor said that it was with sincere regret that they assembled there to mention the death of one of the greatest sons of Bengal, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. He was the greatest jurist, educationist, and social reformer of the present day. He had made the Calcutta University what it was now, and had strengthened the position of the University by securing the services of the greatest educationists wherever he could find them. He was a friend of the country and of the Government.

Continuing, the Rai Bahadur said: "Many of us have lost in him a friend, patron and benefactor. He was aptly described as the 'Tiger of Bengal.'" Sir Asutosh's personality was towering,



THE LAST REMAINS AT THE SENATE HOUSE

his energy and perseverence surpassing, while his tact and resourcefulness saved many a critical situation in the annals of the Calcutta University.

" During the twenty years that he sat on the High Court Bench —sometimes as the Chief Justice—his judgments were full of profound learning and erudition and many of the Judges owed a great deal to him. His death has caused an irreparable loss to the country and even the Government will find it difficult to fill his place by any other man."

Mr. Roxburgh said he endorsed every word of Rai Bahadur T. N. Sadhu with regard to the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who, he said, was really one of the greatest men of Bengal and whose death was a sad loss to all.

The Police Courts were then directed to be closed.

Imperial Library.

The Imperial Record Department and the Imperial Library were closed at 1 p.m. on Monday as a mark of respect to the memory of the late Sir Asutosh Mukerji.

Dhakuria Public Library.

The Library and free reading room remained closed on Sunday last in honour of the death of Sir Ashutosh Choudhury and will remain closed to-day (Tuesday) in honour of the death of Sir Asutosh Mukerji. A special general meeting will be held at the Library hall by the 1st week of June under the distinguished presidency of some eminent literary man of the town to express sorrow at the death of the two greatest men of Bengal, nay of India.

Empress Theatre.

As a mark of sorrow at the untimely death of Sir Asutosh Mukerji, the Empress Theatre remained closed yesterday and there were no shows in the evening.

Scientific Supplies Co.

On account of the demise of Sir Asutosh Mukerji, Kt., the greatest Educationist of the day the office of Scientific Supplies (Bengal) Co. of College St. Market, was closed yesterday.

Indian Association.

The officers of the British Indian Association were closed yesterday in honour of the memory of the late Sir Asutosh Mukerji, a past member of the Association.

Great Educationist.

The sudden death of Sir Asutosh Mukerji, which occurred at Patna, on Sunday, came as a great shock to Bengal. Although he had been unwell for some time, his end was totally unexpected.

Sir Asutosh is the second prominent Bengali ex-judge of the High Court to die during the past few days, Sir Asutosh Choudhuri's death having occurred only on Friday last.

Sir Asutosh Mukerji was a son of the late Dr. Ganga Prosad Mookerjee of Bhowanipur and was born in 1864. He received his school education in the South Suburban School, and after passing the entrance examination, joined the Presidency College, Calcutta, whence he graduated in 1884 with high honours in mathematics. He passed his M. A. examination in the same subject the following year and secured the first place in order of merit. The next year (1886) he passed the Premchand Roychand Studentship Examination which was then the most difficult and the final examination, and carried off the handsome scholarship attached to it. He passed the B.L. examination from the City College where Mr. S. P. (now Lord) Sinha was one of the lecturers. This practically closed the student life of the great man who played such an important part in connection with the development of higher education in Bengal.

Tagore Law Professor.

Sir Asutosh intended to be a vakil of the High Court of Calcutta and according to the rules he had to be articled as a clerk to a senior vakil. He was fortunate enough to be so under the late Sir Rash Behari Ghose who was a friend of his father. He joined the High Court in 1888, and in a very few years built up a practice almost unprecedented in the case of a junior. Sir Asutosh, however, did not confine his attention to his briefs but studied law in all its branches most carefully and wrote his thesis for the Doctorate which was highly spoken of by his examiners. He received the degree of D.L. in 1894. Subsequently he presented his synopsis of the Tagore Law Lecture which was approved of by the Syndicate and he was appointed Tagore Law Professor of the Calcutta University in 1898.

Sir Asutosh, who was then known as Dr. Mookerjee, was recognised by all shades of opinion as the most brilliant young man in Bengal and his connection with the University of Calcutta was considered so useful and valuable that in the following year he was elected to represent the University in the Legislative Council of the province where his criticisms of the Municipal Bill at once made him famous. As soon as the Act came into force the Government nominated him as a Commissioner of the Calcutta Corporation and he was on the Corporation till he was elevated to the bench of the High Court. In 1901, he was returned to the Bengal Legislative Council for the second time and in 1903 went to the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, defeating such opponents as the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga and Babu (now Sir) Surendra Nath Banerjea. Here be vigorously opposed the Official Secrets Bill and strongly supported the Universities Bill.

Sir Asutosh joined the Asiatic Society while quite a young man and made valuable contributions to the Press on mathematical subjects. These attracted the attention of many mathematicians of repute in England and on the recommendation of Professor Cayley of the Cambridge University he was nominated a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

High Court Judge.

Sir Asutosh was made a Judge of the Calcutta High Court in 1904, and his elevation to the bench ended his career as a politician which gave great promise during the period of his membership first of the Provincial and then of the Indian Legislative Council.

From this time onward Sir Asutosh devoted his entire attention to the welfare of the Calcutta University of which he was the second Indian Vice-Chancellor appointed in 1906, the first being the late Sir Gurudas Banerjee. In 1907, he was elected President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and in 1908 he was temporarily relieved of his duties in the High Court and placed on deputation in connection with the reorganization of the Calcutta University, a task which he performed with infinite credit to himself and profit to the future generation of Bengal. In 1909, he was elected President of the Trustees of the Indian Museum, and about the same time became President of the Board of Sanskrit Examination in Bengal. He was the founder and President of the Mathematical Society of Bengal and in that capacity gave encouragement to the study of the science of mathematics, which will be treasured by the *savants* for generations to come.

Unique Position.

As a judge of the Calcutta High Court his position was unique. He was known to be a deeply learned jurist and his knowledge of law in all its branches was generally admired. Besides his duties on the bench, he used to do a lot of work in connection with administration of the offices of the High Court and his help and advice was always considered valuable by his colleagues. He officiated for the Chief Justice for a few months and after a brilliant career retired in December last.

It was believed that Sir Asutosh would return to the field of politics after his retirement and probably he would have done so had not something come in his way rather suddenly. The history of the famous Dumraon Raj case is well known in Bengal and Bihar. This case had been going on now for years and Mr. C. R. Das had been acting on behalf of the Raja since its commencement. It so happened that Mr. Das, who had given up practice at the call of the non-co-operation movement, refused to appear in the Patna High Court, just when Sir Asutosh retired from the bench. The Raja at once briefed the great Bengali jurist and since then he had paid frequent visits to Patna in connection with this case. He was there at the time of his death.

Many opponents.

It would not be true to say that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee had no opponents in his activities in connection with the Calcutta University. He had many, but it is admitted by everyone that he did wonders in the field of high education in Bengal. His thorough grasp of the affairs of other seats of learning throughout the civilised world, and above everything his strong desire to make the University of Calcutta a real and valuable seat of learning, have been admitted by all, including Sir Michael Sadler, who presided over the University Commission. The postgraduate and the law departments of the Calcutta University will ever remain as tributes to the memory of the great man who was the life and soul of the Calcutta University for twenty-five years. It was Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who recognised the fact that to neglect the mother tongue of the nation was fatal to its proper development, and it was he who gave the Bengali language its proper place in the curriculum of the Calcutta University. His activities in connection with the development of the University were so varied and manifold that it is impossible to review them all in a brief notice.

Sir Asutosh was an orthodox Hindu in religion and used to have different pujas, particularly the great Durga Puja, in his Bhowanipore house every year. In social matters he had progressive views and it was with almost unique courage that he overlooked the orthodox Hindu opinion and had his widowed daughter of tender age remarried. Sir Asutosh suffered a good deal for its courage but he never grudged that. In his mode of living he was a Bengali of Bengalis. Except for his scholarship and deep knowledge he had nothing of the West in him.

The death of Sir Asutosh removes one of Bengal's greatest and most forceful figures, and it will be difficult to fill his place not only as a jurist and a man of letters but also as a public-spirited citizen with the good of his native city and province as one of the compelling motives of his distinguished and useful life.

High Court Closed.

As a mark of respect the High Court was closed by order of the Chief Justice and the flag was half-masted.

The offices of the Bengal Secretariat, Imperial Secretariat, Corporation offices and the Police offices at Lall Bazar and other public offices and institutions were closed yesterday as a mark of respect to Sir Asutosh's memory.

The shops in Sir Stuart Hogg Market, and the College Street Market and most of the shops in College Street, Wellington Street, Dharrumtolla Street, Harrison Road and Chitpore Road were closed when the news of his death spread.

Business was also suspended by the shop-keepers of Bhowanipore, Kalighat, Shambazar and Belliaghata.

Mofussil Sympathy.

The members of the Hooghly Bar Association, at a meeting held yesterday, recorded their deep sense of sorrow at the sudden and unexpected death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

The court of the Additional Sessions Judge, Barisal, was closed yesterday as a mark of respect to the memory of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. [*The Statesman*]

A Bolt from the Blue.

It came like a bolt from the blue—the news that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was no more. The suddenness of the shock was almost paralysing. Many people were incredulous and thought there must be a confusion with the other Sir Asutosh, whose ashes, alas, are not yet cold. They almost thought, could such a man die who was the personification of power, who had occupied so large a space in the public eye for about a quarter of a century? But the crash is there and nobody knows how terrible it may prove to be. When therefore we say that the void is not likely to be filled, the loss is irreparable—we know and our countrymen know how far removed is such apprehension from more conventional words usually used on such occasions.

What is Sir Asutosh to Bengal? He is the one Bengali who, perhaps more than any other, represents the best type of our race. He is the one Bengali in whom we had such confidence that wherever he might go, in any part of the world he would make his rase respected by the massiveness of his intellect and the force of his personality. He is the one Bengali whom we believed to be competent to cross sword with any adversary. In the present generation of Bengalis none has inspired more terror in the hearts of men and none more confidence. He was variously described as the "Bengal Tiger," the "autocrat," the "generous patron of learning." All these descriptions fitted him in one or other aspect of his character. He was perhaps the most criticised man in all Bengal, but none was more respected by friends and foes alike. He was a Man everybody agreed and there can be no higher tribute. We cannot say that he was a "star," he was so great and yet so near. Among the great folk none was more approachable, none so ready to listen to the humblest and do his bit if he could. No wonder that if the sorrow for the death of no other Bengali in modern times has been more universal, none has also been more personal in its note.

Another reason of the great popularity of Sir Asutosh was that he never pretended to be anything but a Bengali 'Babu.' 'Asu Babu' as he was familiarly spoken of by his countrymen never allowed his great official position, his deep knowledge of the western lore to take away by one jot of the pride that he felt for being born a Bengali. He has done more than any other man, to impress on his countrymen that what is called orthodoxy was not necessarily inconsistent with true culture. The official position he held prevented him from standing forth as the high priest of nationalism but what he has done to foster the new spirit that is abroad through the University and his own personal example is by no means negligible.

But the Bengali in him had transcended the limits of his province. The University of Calcutta which bears so large an impress of his personality he tried to make not merely the centre of provincial culture as most other Universities are, but the disseminator of culture that is also of all India. His broad outlook as the greatest Indian educationist of the day was so much appreciated throughout India that he had the rare distinction of being invited to give the benefit of his advice to other Indian Universities. It seemed that the unique position of an all-India intellectual leadership was about to be created for him when the cruel hand of death snatched him away.

Sir Asutosh gave his best to the Calcutta High Court and the University. The laurels he won in these bodies have earned for him undying fame and shed lustre on the race which is proud to own him. But greater things were expected of him and we all remember the speculations that were rife when he resigned from the High Court. If in office he was formidable to the powers that be, and had used his giant's strength to very good purpose on occasions what could he not do out of office? True he was close upon sixty when he came out in the open arena of public life. But his mind and body were as vigorous as ever. The foremost place in the public life of all India was for him. Sooner or later it was expected he would accept it. But where is he now?

The University that he loved more than his life and for which he gave his best—what will become of it? In the universal grief that is felt almost everybody has expressed his anxiety about its fate. But we think if there is any patriotism in Bengal, if the memory of Sir Asutosh is respected by his countrymen, the University has no reason to fear. [*Forward*]

It is with a feeling of profound sorrow that we have to announce the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. The melancholy event took place on last Sunday evening at Patna where Sir Asutosh had been for sometime past in connection with the Dumraon Case. The news of his sudden death is verily a bolt from the blue. A wail has gone forth from thousands of hearts of his countrymen who have felt the shock. It is impossible to describe adequately the magnitude of the irreparable loss which the country has suffered by the premature death of this great son of India—indeed one of the greatest that India has produced.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that modern Bengal is mostly to-day what Sir Asutosh chose to make her. Despite what the critics of the Calcutta University might say—we have ourselves also sometimes criticised it—the outstanding fact remains that the main-spring of all our National activities is the University. And it is the genius of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee which has mainly guided and moulded the University of Calcutta. By controlling the educational activities of the Province, Sir Asutosh has exercised the greatest influence over the life and mode of thought of his countrymen. The political, social and moral activities of the people are only the reflections of the education imparted to our countrymen. And this being the patent fact, he had a large hand in making Bengal what she is. The younger generation of the educated community of the country is more or less his handiwork. In fact, there is scarcely any domain of thought in Bengal which has not been directly or indirectly influenced by this great intellectual giant. The impress of his mind is indelibly inscribed on all the varied activities of the country.

The greatness of Sir Asutosh was manifest in every sphere of his work as a Judge, he enjoyed the unstinted confidence of the litigant public and extorted the love and esteem of the members of the legal profession who at the time of his retirement bore eloquent testimony to his profound legal knowledge, his unbending independence, untiring patience and never-failing courtesy towards them. He had a great discernment of character and talents and nothing gave him greater pleasure than to help any younger man in whom he could detect any special trait of character or a spark of genius. He was cosmopolitan in his appreciation of talents. His address as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University for several years as well as special addresses to other Universities will ever remain as the monument of his vast erudition and of the deep and abiding interest he always evinced in matters educational. In expounding the intricacies of law as a Judge of the highest tribunal in the province, in guiding the affairs of that learned body—the Asiatic Society of Bengal or in controlling the affairs of the Calcutta University, Sir Asutosh felt equally at home. Bengal has produced greater jurists, greater orators and public men than Sir Asutosh. But she has not given birth to a greater educationist than him. He was a man of most versatile genius but it is as an educationist that he will be chiefly enshrined in the memory of his grateful countrymen. The keynote of his life was the expansion of the domain of culture and thought of his countrymen. He was a genuine patriot who believed that the mainspring of national activities in all directions was the advancement of learning.

Critics have not been wanting who have tried to discredit the work of the Calcutta University and have sought to minimise its utility. They forgot, however, the limitations under which Sir Asutosh had to work. The public has not, pehaps, an adequate conception of the tremendous odds which Sir Asutosh had to encounter in his efforts for the expansion of the various activities of his Alma

Mater so as to enable her to become a perennial source of inspiration and guidance to her votaries. Now that Sir Asutosh has left this world, a great apprehension will naturally be felt for the future work of the University. We find no man on whom his mantle may justly fall. His death is thus nothing short of a national calamity.

The University Act of 1904 which has laid the foundation of the University on a more or less democratic basis owes not a little to the transcendental genius of Sir Asutosh himself. The Post-Graduate Department, the initiation of the Research work by the students, the foundation of the University Law College and the Science College, brought into existence by the princely munificence of Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rash Behary Ghose, will ever remain as the undying monuments of his wonderful genius, his great devotion to learning his genuine patriotism.

If the private life of a man gives the real insight into his character, Sir Asutosh was unique also in this respect. Always accessible to the high and low alike, his charming smile and unconventional manners at once created a happy atmosphere in which his visitor would always feel at home. He forgot for the time being that he was in the presence of the " Bengal Tiger." The only effective passport to Sir Asutosh's favour was talent. A few minutes' talk enabled him to find out if there was any worth in his interviewer. And once he was convinced of its existence, Sir Asutosh would be unsparing in his efforts to promote the interest of his visitor. No one had, perhaps, a greater claim to his affection than the student community of the country. He was their best and never-failing friend, guide and philosopher who ever watched their interests with untiring vigilance and patience. He was a Nationalist in the best sense of the term. Either in dress or mode of living, he had a repugnance for foreign imitation.

It is impossible to do justice to the memory of this wonderful man within the narrow compass of a newspaper article. He was justly the pride and glory of India and particularly of this province and Bengal has lost her brightest jewel by the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. She is distinctly poorer to-day and it is no language of mere convention to say that the premature death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, for he was only 60, is simply an irreparable loss to the country.

He had his failings which are the common lot of human beings.

But these were nothing when compared to the innumerale sterling virtues, which adorned him and which have shed an imperishable lusture on his motherland. It may truly be said of him that taking all for all it will be impossible to find the like of him again. We offer our heart-felt condolence to the bereaved family whose sorrow is shared by the whole nation. May the soul of Sir Asutosh enjoy eternal bliss at the lotus-feet of Sri Bhagaban! All that was of earth and earthly in him has been consumed by the funeral pyre but the memory of his patriotic work for his country will ever remain a standing monument of his unrivalled genius and his great and warm heart.

[*The Amrita Bazar Patrika*]

Within the short space of three days Bengal has been called upon to suffer the loss of two of her most distinguished sons, that of Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri on Friday and that of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee on Sunday. Both men had been distinguished Judges of the High Court: both had made considerable pecuniary sacrifices in leaving their lucrative practices for the judicial bench: both had recently resigned their judgeships and had returned to their earlier love of advocacy: both were prominent educationists, the one as President of the Council of National Education and the other as the most notable Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University has ever had: both were esteemed by all who knew them. But there, indeed, the catalogue of similarities between these two great Bengalees must cease. In character, in temperament, in personality, in creed and in ways of life the two judges were strikingly in contrast. Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri, though he first graduated at Calcutta University, was very largely a product of Western education. He crossed "the black water" to go to Cambridge and as a Brahmo-Samaj man acted as a link between the East and the West. And though he had been a President of the National Congress and had been in his day a tolerably advanced politician, he always stood for conciliation and compromise. Tactful and kindly, supple in intellect and in ideas, he was an embodiment of that type of Bengalee culture which invites and welcomes the breezes from the West. He was fond of letters and fond of the arts. Endowed with a genius for hospitality and friendship, he kept open house for both his Indian and European friends alike and by his genial and persuasive influence did much to break down the barriers of racial prejudice.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was of another stamp. Orthodox of the orthodox, he had never been to Europe, though as a scholar and a philosopher he had necessarily imbibed certain Western ideas. But he stood above all for the maintenance of a Bengalee culture that should be as little affected as possible by Occidental influences. Nor was a genius for compromise one of the chief characteristics of "the Bengal Tiger." Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was, by temperament, an autocrat and during his long and loving administration of Calcutta University which he served with supreme and self-sacrificing devotion he would brook no contradiction and no challenge to his authority. At an hour when men of all schools of opinion are united in mourning the loss of one whom many hold to be the greatest Bengalee of the present generation, it would be supremely inappropriate to re-open the distressing personal controversy with the Governor of Bengal upon which Sir Asutosh Mookerjee embarked rather more than a year ago. It may, however, be said without injustice or without seeking in the least to detract from the greatness of a towering personality that Sir Asutosh might perhaps have achieved even more than he did for his beloved University—and it is chiefly due to him and to his passion for pure learning, not as a means to an end, but as an end in itself, that Calcutta University has a world-wide reputation in certain branches of knowledge—had he sometimes been of a more accommodating temper.

His position on the judicial bench where he was noted for his learning, his tireless patience, his courtesy, and not least for his staunch independence, coupled with his long labours in the cause of the University, had precluded his adoption of a political career, though some believed that when his work in the Dumraon Raj case at Patna was finished he might then decide to enter political life. Whatever cause he might have elected to espouse would have won a most powerful recruit. A born leader and inspirer of men, and one who was gifted with the faculty of remembering everyone with whom he had ever come into contact, a most valuable asset to the politician, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, had he once thrown the weight of his great personality into the scale, might well have turned the scale in favour of whatever cause his conscience had taught him to adopt. Of his views upon the present troubled state of politics in Bengal we are ignorant. All we know is that he bravely and successfully opposed the educational boycott preached by Mr. Gandhi in the days when the Non-co-operation movement was at its height. Despotic as he was and ruthless in his opposition to causes or to men with which he was not in sympathy, Sir Asutosh was nevertheless the most approachable of men. He had an eagle eye for merit in others and he was as staunch a friend as he could be stark an enemy. In the present crisis of her fate Bengal can, indeed, ill afford to be deprived of the services of this great genius of whom not one of the least experienced or least shrewd British officials in Bengal once said: "If Swaraj were to come in a night the only chance for Bengal would be a despotism with Sir Asutosh Mookerjee as Dictator. He at least would see to it that the machine moved."

"The death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee removes from the public life of Calcutta a forceful and remarkable personality. As mathematician, scientist, lawyer, judge, and historian he displayed extraordinary versatility, and his enormous capacity for plenty of hard work, with only four hours' sleep a day, enabled him to engage in many activities with a zest and thoroughness beyond the normal. Some of his judgments from the Bench have become classic, and his Vice-Chancellorship of the Calcutta University, dating from 1906 until a few months ago, gave him scope for the exercise of his keenness in educational matters. He certainly rendered valuable services to the University; but his anxiety to increase numbers regardless of standards, led him to agree to measures which have not tended to improve the University's reputation and have definitely retarded its progress owing to the cheapening of the degree. He devoted much time towards the encouragement of the Post-Graduate courses at the expense of the rest of the University, and he could point in his time to the election of two Calcutta graduates to fellowships of the Royal Society. He was not quite 60 years of age and took practically no interest in politics. Altogether he was a man of an exceedingly wide literary knowledge, his library being one of the finest in India." [*The Englishman*]

The sudden announcement of the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who had gone to Patna in connection with the Dumraon case, must have come as a great shock to the country. Possessing as he did a splendid constitution and exceptional vitality it was thought that after his retirement from the Bench he will live for many years to serve his country and his province in his position of greater freedom. But it was not to be. In his death not only Bengal but the whole of India has suffered a heavy loss. He possessed a massive intellect. He was a many-sided man, and as a lawyer, as a mathematician, as an educationist, as a man of affairs, and as a scholar it will be difficult to find in the whole country a man to compare with him. He was nicknamed 'Bengal Tiger' for his fighting qualities and there were not many men who ventured to pitch themselves against him. His services to his province especially in the field of education, were many and in him Bengal has lost one of the most forceful and outstanding personalities. It was a wonder to many how he could find time and energy to do all he did for the Calcutta University as its Vice-Chancellor. He was one of the greatest sons of India which is the poorer by his death. We offer our heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family. [*The Leader*]

The late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee will be lamented all over India as one of the leading Bengalis of his day. A man of brilliant and versatile intellect, Sir Asutosh was an outstanding example of a type in which Bengal has always been rich. Having at first made his mark by his skill as a mathematician, he proceeded to climb to the Bench of the Calcutta High Court, and to become famous as a patron of Bengali literature and learning in general. It was as Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University that Sir Asutosh was most widely known and did his best work. His labours on behalf of the University were ceaseless and were largely responsible for the striking changes which have taken place in it. When Sir Asutosh was himself a student the University was a mere examining body. He fully realised its limitations and set himself to remedy them by creating University professorships and developing the teaching work and at the same time encouraging research and Post-graduate studies, which in the past were unknown in India. The result has been that

Calcutta now leads in the University world. Much of the research done at Calcutta has been of real value and added to the international reputation of India for culture, and the staff of Calcutta University is the envy of Universities in other parts of India. Unfortunately the cost of the new developments was not correctly estimated, and the overwhelming responsibilities of the University towards education in general in the Bengal Presidency proved too much for it. This led only recently to a deplorable controversy over the finances of the University in consequence of which Sir Asutosh resigned from the Vice-Chancellorship. He retained to the last the high esteem of those who knew him and will be remembered as one of the makers of modern Bengal. [*The Times of India*]

We have been shocked to hear of the sudden death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. No one suspected that he had been seriously ill, but from the brief message received from Patna it appears that he was suffering from a dilated stomach.

By his death India loses one of her greatest sons, a man whom a remarkable capacity for work and an equally remarkable force of character marked as a born leader. The two fields of work he chose are the High Court and the University of Calcutta. In the first, legal scholarship of an encyclopaedic nature combined with rare sympathy for the weaknesses of human nature made him an ideal judge; while in the second it would not be an exaggeration to say that the Calcutta University is what it is to-day because of Sir Asutosh. Ever since he became Vice-Chancellor Sir Asutosh's sole passion in life has been to fashion and mould the University according to his ideas and to convert his *Alma Mater* into an institution which shall be a monument to the intellect of Bengal and an object of pride for the whole of India. To this cause he unstintedly gave of his best; and whatever differences of opinion some of his countrymen had with him it is indisputable that he had won the regard and esteem of all by the indomitable energy and undaunted courage with which he administered the University.

India is distinctly the poorer by the premature death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, a man whose equal is hardly to be found in the educational world of India. We offer our heart-felt condolence to the bereaved family. [*The Servant*]

Within three days Bengal has become the poorer by the death of two of her most eminent men, who had long been colleagues on Bench of the Calcutta High Court and were both widely known for their services to social and political causes, as well as for distinction in their own profession. Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri had suffered from weak health for some time past and had retired from public activities. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was apparently still in full vigour and strength when he retired from the bench last December. Resuming practice as a Vakil, he had taken up new duties with all his usual energy and competence, and his untimely end comes as a great shock to the province he had done so much to adorn.

After a University career in which he gave abundant evidence of extraordinary gifts, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee settled down to practice law and to indulge his enthusiasm for the promotion of higher education. Endowed with a rare ability and courage, and possessed of amazing vigour of body and mind, he was built for success in whatever he undertook, and soon became known as an able lawyer and a doughty champion of educational reform. Pursuing both interests with strong tenacity of purpose, he was while yet comparatively young, raised to the highest distinction that each offered, becoming Judge of the Calcutta High Court and Vice-Chancellor of the University. As a Judge he quickly won a deserved success, and was regarded as one of the ornaments of the Calcutta Bench. With learning and acumen, a powerful knowledge of Indian law, and an astounding capacity for work, he added to an already high reputation, and it was matter of universal gratification to his countrymen that he was in due course selected to officiate as Chief Justice of Bengal, the highest honour open to an Indian Vakil.

But Sir Asutosh Mookerjee will be best remembered for his constructive work in education. Identifying himself unreservedly with the reorganisation of University Education consequent upon Lord Curzon's legislation, he was early regarded as a coming power, and his appointment in due course as Vice-Chancellor, in succession to Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee, was welcomed as a fitting recognition of his courage and labours. It was an old tradition that the Vice-Chancellor should be a Judge of the High Court or some other high officer of State, but the position was regarded as little more than a sinecure, the Vice-Chancellor merely presiding on occasion over meetings to record and appreciate the work done by others. This tradition was now to be disregarded. The new Vice-Chancellor, abounding in energy and ideas, at once made himself master in his own house, and the dominant power in higher education in Bengal. He trusted no second-hand advice, but himself investigated every department, laboured at every detail, controlled every development, and initiated every improvement, and even those who knew him best marvelled at his prodigious thoroughness. Continued in this office for many years, he built up an almost unassailable position, until at times it was almost forgotten that vigilant criticism is a condition of healthy progress. Even after he ceased to be Vice-Chancellor, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's influence was undiminished; indeed, his prestige and experience, his membership of many University bodies and committees, and, above all, his position year after year as elected President of the two Post-Graduate Councils which regulate and supervise the highest work of the University, gave him a position little inferior to that of the Vice-Chancellor himself. It was therefore in keeping with general expectation that after the introduction of the reformed Government in 1921, Mr. P. C. Mitter, the first Minister of Education for Bengal, invited him with Lord Ronaldshay's warm approval to resume the Vice-Chancellorship which he held until a year ago.

In his first Convocation Address as Vice-Chancellor Sir Asutosh Mookerjee clearly envisaged the situation that lay before him. The University, he pointed out, would no longer be a mere examining body—not even a federation of colleges; it would be these and more, a centre for the cultivation and advancement of knowledge. To this he devoted his term of office as Vice-Chancellor. Fortune sent to his aid the large Palit and Rashbehary Ghose endowments, and enabled him to build up the University College of Science as the nucleus of a teaching University. The co-operation of all resources for the concentration of higher teaching in the University itself, as distinct from its constituent colleges, was the ideal to which he gave his great energies, and the present organisation of the University is due chiefly to the force and ability with which he pursued his aim. If a University has life within itself, there will always be controversy about great issues, and there are those who have held with equal courage and sincerity that such concentration of higher interests does not make for the mental health of the province. The controversy still endures, the interests of the University and of its Colleges have not yet arrived at perfect adjustment, and it is a calamity to Bengal that the greatest of its educationalists has passed away at so critical a juncture in its affairs.

It were too long a task to recount Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's other interests and titles to fame. Whether as educationalist, as member and President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, as promoter of Sanskrit congresses, or in a hundred other capacities, he was always dominated by the same generous idea, that the welfare of his country was to be found in the pursuit of knowledge and in contact with intellectual progress the world over. Few will deny that he was the greatest Bengali of his age, with powers and ideals that would have won him equal reputation in any country, and the sympathy of all in Bengal, Indians and Europeans alike, will be with his family in their sorrow. [*The Statesman*]

The death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee removes from the public life of Calcutta a forceful and remarkable personality. As mathematician, scientist, lawyer, judge, and historian he displayed extraordinary versatility, and his enormous capacity for plenty of hard work, with only four hours' sleep a day, enabled him to engage in many activities with a zest and thoroughness beyond the normal. Some of his judgments from the Bench have become classic, and his Vice-Chancellorship of the Calcutta University, dating from 1906 until a few months ago, gave him scope for the exercise of his keenness in educational matters. He certainly rendered valuable services to the University ; but his anxiety to increase numbers, regardless of standards, led him to agree to measures which have not tended to improve the University's reputation and have definitely retarded its progress owing to the cheapening of the degree. He devoted much time towards the encouragement of the Post-Graduate courses at the expense of the rest of the University, and he could point in his time to the election of two Calcutta Graduates to fellowships of the Royal Society. He was not quite 60 years of age and took practically no interest in politics. Altogether he was a man of an exceedingly wide literary knowledge, his library being one of the finest in India.

[*The Pioneer*]

TOUCHING SCENES AT HIGH COURT.

TRIBUTE BY BENCH AND BAR AT HIGH COURT.

Eloquent and sympathetic reference to the memory and career of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was paid at the High Court on Tuesday, when prior to the work of the day being taken up, all the Judges assembled in the Chief Justice's court room, which was packed with members of the various branches of the legal profession as well as the general public.

Mr. S. R. Das, Advocate-General, on behalf of the Bar said: "It is only a few months since your lordships and the members of the legal profession assembled to bid farewell from the Bench to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, and to wish him a happy and a long life during his retirement. No one then imagined that we should so soon meet again to bid him an eternal farewell and to mourn his loss. I wish it had fallen to a better man to represent the Bar on this occasion; I feel I am not capable of doing justice in giving expression to the irreparable loss the country has suffered.

" Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was born on June 20, 1864. In 1879, at the age of 15 he matriculated, standing first in the whole university. In 1884, at the age of 20 he graduated with high honours in mathematics. In 1885 he took his M.A. degree, standing first in the whole University in mathematics. In 1886, he sat for the Premchand Roychand Studentship, which was then the most difficult and the highest examination in any subject, and succeeded in winning the handsome scholarship attached to it. He again sat for the M.A. degree in Physics and passed successfully. He then took up the study of law and attended the law lectures at the City College where the present Lord Sinha was one of the lecturers. He also attended the Tagore Law Lectures and for three successive years won the gold medal awarded for proficiency in the subject of the lectures. While still quite a young man, he joined the Asiatic Society of Bengal and his contributions in mathematical subjects attracted the attention of Professor Cayley of Cambridge, on whose recommendation he was nominated a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

ELEVATION TO THE BENCH

"In 1888, he took his B.L. degree, and was enrolled as a vakil of this court. He served his articles under the late Sir Rashbehary Ghose. He continued the studies in law even after he joined the High Court, and in 1894 he received the degree of Doctor of Law from the Calcutta University. In 1898 he was appointed Tagore Law Professor. In the meantime, he had been taking a keen interest in the University, and in 1899 he was elected to represent the University in the Bengal Legislative Council, where he did much useful work in connection with the then Calcutta Municipal Bill. On the Bill being passed he was nominated by the Government, a member of the Corporation of which, I believe, he continued to be a member till his elevation to the Bench. In 1901, he was re-elected to the Council and in 1903 he was elected by the members of the Bengal Council to represent them in the Council of the Governor-General, where he took a very active part in the discussions on the new Universities Bill. In 1904, he was appointed a judge of the High Court.

"His activities had covered a wide field while he was building up a large practice, and we all know the labour and time which that involves. But he made time in spite of his practice to take an active and a conspicuous part in the work of his University, in politics and in municipal affairs. He would even devote his spare time to the solution of mathematical problems, which was one of his hobbies. On his elevation to Bench he was obliged to give up his activities in political and municipal affairs and devoted his entire attention, outside his judicial duties, to the University. In 1906, he was appointed Vice-Chancellor, the second Indian to be appointed to that high office, the first having been the late Sir Gurudas Banerjee. He continued to occupy that position for a number of years. In 1907 he was elected President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, an office to which he was subsequently repeatedly elected. In 1908 he was temporarily relieved of his duties as a judge, and placed on deputation in connection with the re-organisation of the Calcutta University, a task which he took up with his characteristic zeal and thoroughness. In 1909 he was elected President of the Trustees of the Indian Museum, and at about the same time he became President of the Board of Sanskrit Examiners in Bengal. He was also the founder and president of the Mathematical Society of Bengal which has given considerable encouragement to the study of that subject in Bengal. There is one other matter that I must mention before I come to his retirement from the Bench. It was due to his persuasive eloquence and his great work at the University, that the late Sir Tarak Nath Palit and Sir Rash Behary Ghose were induced to make such munificent donations to the Science College attached to the University.

"A history of his life would not be complete without a mention of the very bold step he took in giving in marriage his widowed daughter. A thoroughly orthodox Hindu in all matters he did not hesitate to risk social persecution when he saw the sad state of his daughter, a widow from childhood. In December 1923 he retired.

A Varied Career

I have now related in very bald terms the main features of the life of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Can more words however graphic, speak more eloquently of his life and work than the bare facts I have stated. It is only a man of extraordinary talents, of extraordinary industry, of great forcefulness of character, burning with a zeal to make his life of some use to his fellowmen, who could have within the short space of 59 years accomplished all that I have related to you.

"We have had, and we have among us, men who have risen to high fame in the one particular line in which they have specialised. We have, and have had, great physicists, great chemists, great educationists and doctors and lawyers of great eminence. But I know of no one who has taken part in such varied activities as the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and in every one of which he occupied a prominent position. He was barely sixty years when he died. Bengal—nay India, hoped he had still before him many years of activity for the benefit of his country. But it was not to be. A great man has passed away and we can only bow to the decree of Providence."

"A Great Man."

Babu Basanta Kumar Bose, President of the Vakils' Association, said that he had seen many Indians of very great intellect, but he had never seen a greater mathematician, or a greater lawyer or a greater judge than Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Bengal had lost one of its most brilliant sons in modern times.

Mr. Mohini Mohan Chatterji said :—" On behalf of the Incorporated Law Society of Calcutta and generally of the attorneys of your lordships' court, I desire, with your lordships' permission, to associate myself with every word of the warm and eloquent tribute to the memory of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. The suddenness with which he was struck down by the hand of death while engaged in professional work is an impressive reminder, that in life we are in the midst of death. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's courageous, persistent and wholehearted labour in many spheres of usefulness evoked, as was natural, a diversity of estimation, but every unlovely thought directed towards him was burnt to ashes on his funeral pyre in the presence of a gathering, unprecedented on such an occasion—a gathering which represented all sorts and conditions of men, irrespective of caste, creed and sect. But the assertion may be made with some confidence, that his memory is, and will long continue to be, an altar flame to enkindle his countrymen with enthusiastic and purehearted devotion to the good of others."

CHIEF JUSTICE'S TRIBUTE.

His lordship, the Chief Justice said :—" As the learned Advocate General has said, it is not six months since we assembled in this court on the occasion of the retirement from the Bench of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. We then paid a tribute to his great ability, his untiring energy, his unceasing work and we expressed the hope that, though he was retiring from the Bench, his life would be spared for many years so that he might serve his country in other capacities. Our hopes have been shortlived for we are here to-day mourning his sudden death.

" There is no doubt that his death, as far as our human limitations enable us to judge, is a great calamity. I think that no one will deny that Sir Asutosh stood prominent among his fellow countrymen. He was the greatest Bengalee of his generation. I do not think I should be wrong if I were to say that in many respects he was the greatest Indian of his day.

"When he retired from the Bench he was in full possession of his great faculties, his mind was indeed a store of knowledge. He was of ripe experience, his energies appeared to be unabated, and his health, though temporarily not so good as usual, was not such as to cause his friends any anxiety. Now India and Bengal are suddenly bereft of his service—services which might and probably would have been, invaluable to the country in many respects. The cause of education in all its branches has lost a staunch friend and an untiring advocate. What the Calcutta University, to which he ungrudgingly devoted so much of his life, will do without him, it is difficult to imagine.

"It has been stated that it was probable that he would take part in politics. His knowledge, experience and powers of debate would have stood him in good stead and might easily have led him to a prominent position in public life, which would have given him an opportunity of influencing the future of this province, and perhaps of India itself. The loss, therefore, which the country has sustained through the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is indeed a severe one. It will be difficult if not impossible to find any one, who will adequately fill the gap caused by his death.

"We deeply regret his death for reasons of a public nature, we mourn the loss of a friend with whom we have been intimate for many years. We venture to extend our sincere sympathy with the members of his family in the great affliction which has so suddenly and so unexpectedly befallen them."

BY PATNA BENCH AND BAR.

Equally eloquent and sympathetic tributes were paid to the memory of the late Sir Asutosh Moikerjee by the Bench and Bar of the Ptna High Court. Mr. Manuk and Mr. S. Lal spoke on behalf of the Bar and Vakils' Associations respectively.

TRIBUTE BY CHIEF JUSTICE.

The Chief Justice, Hon. Sir Dawson Miller said :—"On behalf of bench I desire earnestly to express our deep regret at the sorrowful event which you and Mr. Manuk have referred to in such moving terms. Only a few days ago Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was amongst us taking an active part in our discussions and to all outward appearances in full vigour of his manhood. Thought of death must have been as remote from his mind as it was from minds of those with whom he was in daily intercourse. To-day with appalling suddenness he has passed away from us for ever but the memory of his great personality remains so strongly impressed upon us all who have been so intimately associated with him in these last months of his life that it is difficult to believe that he is no longer with us. The shock of his sudden death has been so great that it is hardly possible yet to realise the full force of loss which not only his friends but the whole of legal profession, I may say the whole of India has sustained by his untimely death. Although after many years of a brilliant career as a judge of the Calcutta High Court he had retired from the bench and had earned if anyone had right to rest for a time from his labours. I know from a conversation I had with him only last week that he was still looking forward to many years of a useful career to be spent in the interests of his fellow countrymen and especially in the furtherance of welfare of the Calcutta University to which he had already devoted so much of his time and energy and which was an object very near to his heart. Although more eloquent tongues than mine will at proper time do justice to his achievements and to his character, I may say that the name of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is a household word throughout the High Courts of India. His judgments were invariably lucid and a masterful exposition of law on every subject with which they dealt. They had only to be read to feel at once how difficult it would be to arrive confidently at any conclusion. They had only to be quoted to command universal respect. Associated with him as we on this bench have been for the last four months we could not fail to be impressed by his keen intellect, his quick grasp of essentials and his power of lucid exposition, nay more it would be impossible not to be impressed by his commanding personality but perhaps of the qualities which most impressed itself upon me during the time which we have had advantage of his assistance in dealing with a long and intricate case, was one which is not always conspicuous in a person of great intellectual power and strong character. I refer as you have referred Mr. Manuk to his unfailing courtesy and kindly feeling which he has exhibited on all occasions. But his loss after those months of close association with him I almost feel as if I had lost a personal friend. His loss to those more intimately connected with him is inestimable. My feeling at this moment are too tense to say anything more. On behalf of the bench I desire to express our profound sympathy with Lady Mookerjee and his family who have been left behind to mourn his loss. Out of respect to his memory, the Court to-day will be closed for further business.

CONDOLENCE MEETING AT BHOWANIPUR

Eloquent and touching tributes to the memory of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee were paid at a meeting held at Harrish Park on Wednesday evening under the auspices of the South Calcutta Congress Committee and attended by thousands of men. Babu Basanta Coomer Bose presided. A water colour portrait of the "Bengal Tiger" decorated with garlands was placed on an elevatad table. The proceedings of the memorial meeting commenced with the reading of two poems specially composed for the occasion.

In moving the resolution giving expression to the deep sense of sorrow suffered by the people of Bhowanipur at the sudden and untimely death of Sir Asutosh, one of the greatest and noblest sons of India, and expressing condolence with the members of the bereaved family. Justice C. C. Ghose said that they met there in the shadow of a great calamity—in his judgment the greatest calamity that had fallen in this country within the last fifty years. A prince among men—a man among men—had suddenly been called by his Master to the region beyond the known at a time when his services, if ever they were in requisition, were more in requisition at the present moment than at any time in the history of India.

Sir Asutosh is no more. Their hearts were filled with grief unspeakable—no words in the vocabulary of any language that they were familiar with, whether English, Bengalee, Hindi, Urdu or Persian, he was certain, were adequate to give expression in a fitting manner to the depth of the sorrow that had been evoked throughout the length and breadth of this vast Indian Peninsula. He had seen the official telegrams which had poured in Calcutta from south, north, east and west. They proclaimed in one voice that the people of this country had really been stricken down by the passing away of this great man. Of his own personal relations with the illustrious deceased he dared not trust himself to speak in any gathering great or small. But what was the secret of the influence which the deceased exercised over the general masses of his countrymen. He had received an ovation in death which he never received in life, great as had been the ovations which had been accorded to him in life. As far as his small and limited experience enabled him to say he had never seen a crowd moved as the crowd was which assembled at Howrah station on the morning of Monday last, a crowd each member of which felt that he had suffered a deep personal loss, a crowd each member of which felt that all that he or she could do was to pay a silent tribute of genuine respect and reverence to the memory of the illustrious dead and to have a last lingering look at those features which were delineated in the picture which they saw before them. Never were the members of the various sections of the community more united than when they repaired to the burning ghat and stood in silent reverence to the memory of the great departed. But he was asking them if he might, what was the secret of the influence which the great man probably unknown to himself exercised over the minds of his countrymen? The secret lay in this that he had fixed his eyes steadfastly and continuously upon that ideal which was so near to his heart, namely, that one day his countrymen, his dumb countrymen might be so elevated through the process of education not naturally English education but through the process of education that they would one day sooner if possible, but surely one day occupy a place in the commonwealth of nations respected at home and feared abroad. That was the ideal which that great man had set. Secondly in the execution of the great purpose of his life his motto was 'whatever thy hand giveth do it with all thy might.' He was a hater of careless and slipshod work. Whatever he did, great or small, he did it well and he did it with a self-sacrifice which was beyond parallel.

Referring to his daily routine of work Mr. Justice Ghosh said that those who had experience of his work at High Court would bear him out that after his work at High Court Sir Asutosh had energy, herculean energy, left in him to work in the University every day till 9 o'clock with a devotion, should he say with affectionate devotion, the interests of his countrymen which if it were reproduced in the rising generation even to the extent of one-twentieth part would bring them nearer to that goal for which he set his eyes. What he wanted was that his countrymen should be possessed of character, character in the higher and wider sense of the word, character, which aimed that a man should be able to stand on his own feet, erect and fearless. He only feared the divine providence whose ways were inscrutable and to whose decree they had bowed on Monday last but fear of man, however exalted the man might be, whether he belonged to the race the colour of which was white or to a race the colour of which was black or brown he had none.

He was, if the speaker could touch upon that aspect of his life, an intensely religious man. Those of them who were privileged to be admitted into the secrets of his inner life knew what influence religion exercised upon him. He was an intensely religious man and this was the speaker's conviction and this was his abiding faith that his strength came from religion because Sir Asutosh realised that without true religion which did not consist in merely going to the church or temple, religion which consisted in a pure daily life, religion which consisted in the performance of duty, social and moral, nothing could be done. It was as he had said his abiding faith and conviction that Sir Asutosh's strength came from the Most High, that his strength came from the Divine Dispen-er of what was good and true. And he felt almost everyday of his life that so long his health and strength were spared to him his God would never fail him. And therefore he wanted his countrymen to be possessed of character—character which would come from the cultivation of the natural talents of the man, character which would come through education. He wanted his countrymen to be possessed of true character of that religious spirit without which no work however great or small was ever successful in this world.

Sj. N. C. Chundra.

Babu Nirmal Chandra Chundar on rising to speak said that he was very grateful to the departed great, for his relations with him were very cordial and he was unable to speak any further as his heart was filled with bitter mental agony. Babu Prafulla Kumar Chakrabarty remarked that it was on Monday last that he felt that Sir Asutosh wielded so much influence over his countrymen. The gap caused by his demise would not soon be filled up. When Sir Asutosh left the High Court, they fondly expected that he would devote his time and energy for the good of the country in a wider sphere, but all their hopes were dashed to pieces. The bold stand of Sir Asutosh before Lord Curzon in the Calcutta University reform showed how an independent man at the helm of affairs could withstand insurmountable odds and ends.

Babu Anil Baran Roy said that the first thing which struck him most at the Howrah Station was that when they had learnt to honor and pay homage to such a man their goal was near. Firmness, and not vacillation was the keynote of his life. Unlike most of the Bengalees who had no grim determination, but only "Hujug," Sir Asutosh would stick to his work with leech-like devotion. The speaker then narrated how Sir Asutosh told him that "like steam-roller work must be done."

His whole life was a life lived after that ideal. Independence, Anil Babu remarked was wedded to his life. Unlike others, Sir Asutosh did not sell his conscience when patted on his back by the powers that be. He did not care for the frowns or favours of the Bureaucracy and his whole life's activity was a typical instance of that.

Babu Srish Chandra Chatterjee said that the best and noblest way of reviving the memory of Sir Asutosh would be to follow in the footsteps of the illustrious deceased. He then said that his deep and genuine love for Indian dress showed the metal of which he was made. It was Sir Asutosh who had made Bengali an optional subject up to B.A. Examination of the Calcutta University.

Babu Subhas C. Bose on rising to speak, said that he was grateful to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for being able to speak in Bengali and for this they should forever be so.

Sj. Subhaschandra Bose.

The main cause of their sorrow was that they expected much of Sir Asutosh then, not that they would have been a bit less sorry even if he had died later, but that their sorrow was now greater inasmuch as they expected that his whole time, unsurpassed intellect and undaunted energy would be consecrated towards the emancipation of their motherland. Even on the 27th May some people enquired as to when Sir Asutosh would join the Congress. Whether they agreed with the teaching of the Calcutta University was altogether a separate thing but the one thing which he had done was that the University was solely in the hands of Bengalees. The Calcutta

University could not be destroyed when the storm of N. C. O. blew over the country since the people had faith in Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. They might not agree with him, but it could not be gainsaid that many people had faith in him.

The chief trait in his character was his towering personality, the like of which could not be found in Bengal, India and rarely in the world. He had a soft corner in his heart for young men, but that was not the reason why his was a bye-word, in the country. There were leaders who loved young men, but his personality was the greatest of all. Many of their countrymen who had not high posts in the Government did not always maintain their self-respect, but that could not be said of Sir Asutosh. He under all circumstances, kept his dignity and prestige intact. His daily life showed how he behaved with Europeans, and his latest tussle with Lord Lytton would be written in letters of gold.

Young men were always easy of access to him. One day's acquaintance would enable him to appreciate the worth of a student. He then appealed to the young men to emulate the teaching of the illustrious deceased.

The President said that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was the greatest jewel of India. The place left vacant by him could never be filled up for many years to come, if at all. In his lifetime he had seen many great educationists, great lawyers, great judges but he had never seen a greater educationist, a greater lawyer and a greater judge than Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

Then Babu Hemendra Nath Das Gupta moved the following resolution which was carried unanimously all standing. That this meeting of the inhabitants of South Calcutta grieved at the sudden demise of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the pride of Bengal and one of the greatest men of India, offer their heart-felt condolence to the bereaved family.

A copy of the resolution was also sent to the eldest son of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

After the meeting had terminated the garlanded photo of the savant was taken in a procession to his house.

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

Last week we announced the illness at Patna of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Little did we then know that this week it would be our painful duty to record the end of his great career. On Sunday last at about a quarter past six in the evening, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in the height of his glory, in the plenitude of his powers and of his authority, breathed his last. He was stricken down in the midst of his work, a martyr if ever there was one, to conscience and to industry. No man in our time has been more justly beloved by his family and his friends. By the unsearchable counsels of the Disposer of Events he has been called suddenly and without warning to his account. We are still dazed under the blow which has befallen us. It is too soon, as yet, even to attempt to realize its full meaning, but this, at least, we may say at once and with full assurance that he has left to his people a memory and an example which they will never forget—a memory of great opportunities greatly employed and an example which the humblest of his countrymen will treasure and strive to follow, of simplicity, courage, self-denial, tenacious devotion, up to the last moment of conscious life to work, to duty and to service.

It is difficult, perhaps it is impossible to define or even to explain the subtle power of his personality. He had none of the vulgar marks of a successful leader either of thought or action. He founded no school, nor was he the author or the apostle of any system, constructive or even ethical. In a sense it is true that he left behind no disciples and to those who think that no man can stamp his impress upon his generation unless he is either a dogmatist or a partisan his great career will be a constant puzzle. But to those who knew him and saw him in his daily life as an erudite and patient judge of the Calcutta High Court or as the most powerful Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University the secret of his power is no mystery. We cannot hope to see again the counterpart of that gigantic mind in whose presence intellectual lethargy was stirred into life and intellectual pretentiousness sank into abashed silence. Still less can we hope to see a character such as his, the union of worldly sagacity with the most transparent simplicity of nature, an intelligence keen and unsleeping, but entirely detached and absorbed in the fortunes of the great institution of the Calcutta University. Upon his generosity no call could be too heavy, with his delicate kindliness he was ever ready to give the best hours of either the day or the night to help and to advise the humblest of those who appealed to him for aid. These are the qualities or some of the qualities which were the secret of his personality. On the moral, as on the intellectual side he had endowments rare in themselves, still rarer in their combination. No man of our time, and few men of any time can be more truly said to have lived for the sake of his work.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, in whatever environment of circumstances or condition he might have been placed would have been, as he was always and everywhere a great and dominant personality. As a judge he has left his impress upon the administration of justice in India by his legal lore and wide and extensive knowledges of the development of legal institutions. We had in him an arbiter ripe in experience, judicial in temper, at once a reverent worshipper of our traditions and a watchful guardian of our liberties. As the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, as a Syndic and a Senator for over thirty years, he has earned the gratitude and affection of millions of Bengali students for whose sake the best energies of his great life were given. Both the country and the Calcutta University are the poorer by his death. Bengal has lost in him a man of letters, who did more than any one to unlock to Bengalis the treasure-house of their literature. It is as difficult for us to think of the Calcutta University without Sir Asutosh as it would have been to think of Sir Asutosh without the Calcutta University. For the best part of 40 years, their lives have been closely entwined and we shall not be guilty of exaggeration if we say that during this time his character and influence more than any other single force have been the thread which has connected unbroken the continuous identity of the University of Calcutta and bound together successive generations of students. That thread worn out by ceaseless service has snapped.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, perhaps of all men of this generation came nearest to the mould and ideal of manhood which every Indian would like, his son aspire to and if possible to attain. The bounty of nature enriched and developed not only by early training but by constant self-discipline through life blended in him gifts and graces which taken alone are rare and in such attractive union rarer still

Body, mind and character, each made its separate contribution of faculty and of experience to a many-sided and harmonious whole. What he was, he gave, gave with such ease and exuberance that it may be truly said of him that wherever he moved he seemed to radiate vitality and charm. He was, as we all know, a strenuous fighter. He has left behind no resentments and no enmities, nothing but a gracious memory of a manly and winning personality, the memory of one who served with an unstinted measure of devotion his generation and his country.

It is such a career that has been cut short while still in the exercise and promise of unexhausted powers and possibilities. Providence, in its wisdom, has given him sudden release from his burden of care and toil. He has been snatched away in what we thought was the full tide of a buoyant life, still full of promise and of hope. What more can we say? We can only bow once again before the decrees of the Supreme Wisdom. Those who loved him—and they are countless—in all schools of opinion, in all ranks and walks of life when they think of him will say to themselves :—

> " This was the happy Warrior; this was He,
> That every Man in arms should wish to be."

[*The Behar Herald*]

BENGAL IN MOURNING.

Bengal has sustained an irreparable loss by the sudden death in quick succession of two of her foremost sons. In Sir Asutosh Choudhury Bengal loses a gentleman 'to the manner born,' an erudite scholar, an imperial judge and a life-long worker in the cause of social and political reform—and more especially in the cause of National Education. The Council of National Education started in Bengal in the hey-day of the Swadeshi agitation of 1905 owes not a little of its brilliant success to the sage counsel and unwearied vigilance of Sir Choudhury. In fact, after the death of the late lamented Sir Rashbehary Ghose, the piloting of this indigenous effort was left mainly to the illustrious gentleman whose loss we mourn to-day. The National Council of Education has now opened out a big Technical College with modern equipments and buildings on an extensive plot of land within a few miles' distance from Calcutta; and this will be a more enduring testimony to Sir

Choudhury's life-work than any monument in colour or marble. Alongside of this beneficent work, Sir Choudhury was an ardent believer in the cause of female education and temperance and was ably helped by his illustrious spouse (now deceased). In Politics Sir Choudhury was an honest independent: it was he who had the insight and courage to speak out at Burdwan " A subject nation has no politics "—meaning, we believe, that constitutional mendicancy, the way of the moderate, had no place in any sincere effort at India's getting rid of slavery. He attended the eventful Nagpur Session of Congress and though later on he entered the reformed Council in Bengal, he was shrewd enough not to go in for any of the Ministerships, though as Minister for Education he would have shone out much better than the gentleman who ultimately ran the Education portfolio. Honestly speaking Sir Choudhury stood in a class apart—the pink of refined courtesy and a patriot—working for his country within the limitations of his training and temper, a finished scholar and a gentleman of true Indian tone and tint. Bengal's life is very much the poorer by the loss of such a personality.

In Sir Asutosh Mookerjee not only Bengal but entire India is a loser. Mathematician, jurist, judge, educationist, a Bengalee to the tips, fearlessly independent and aggressively nationalistic in inner mind and outer habits and habiliments, dictator and organiser of Bengal's University life for at least a quarter century, patron and protector of scholars and savants of the old school and the new, the students' eternal refuge. Asutosh Mookerjee did more for the intellectual Bengal of the present generation than any other single man. He adroitly resisted the Curzonian efforts at repressing higher education in Bengal: he made, by unwearied effort and skilful distribution of patronage and power and by sheer grasp of the fundamentals as well as details of University problems, of the Calcutta University, a magazine of power, " a state within a state," a miniature replica of Swaraj. He fought Bureaucratic influences at Calcutta-Darjeeling and Delhi-Simla with annoying success, observing the rules of the game much better than his adversaries: he broke down the Civilian and European ring-fence of autocracy in the realms of Higher Education for ever: he opened out promising careers of research and advanced study and teaching for brilliant Indians of all Indian provinces on an Indian scale of remuneration and gave a big impetus to Indian subjects: he gave an important place to all Indian Vernaculars in the University curricula—and he had been engaged in changing the University from an Examining Body to a more or less residential type fostering corporate life and higher research with increasing public support and sympathy. As a member of the Sadler Commission, it is an open secret that he influenced the whole show by tactful handling and superior resources of an informed intellect. His manly stand against the unseemly overtures of Lord Lytton with regard to the Vice-Chancellorship has become by now a matter of history and his spirited letter of remonstrance is now literature.

His sudden death removes one of the most arresting figures of modern India and is a serious blow to the cause of Indian Education.

Sir Mookerjee's encyclopædic knowledge of law is matter of common knowledge and his learned judgments are models of concentrated legal acumen and scholarship; his general scholarship were extensively varied and his later passion seems to have been historical and archæological studies favourable to the new Indian renaissance as much as higher mathematical and scientific researches. In matters social he was an orthodox Hindu and yet stood rooted to the real principles of the Hindu Samaj which transcends mere *Desachara*, the temporary adjustments of passing days: so that he felt in honour bound to remarry his daughter who had been widowed shortly after the first marriage and he stuck to his guns unbowed by blasts of popular prejudice and orthodox hue and cry. Born in an unlucky country, the play-ground of extra-Indian power and greed, Sir Mookberji kept his ideals high, his life unsullied, his domestic relations pure and sweet—*and kept autocracy at bay.* He was a man of blood and iron; a true Bismarckian type, a brilliant student of human psychology, a past master in the management of men, a real kshatriya in the guise of a Brahmin, swaying circumstances to his will, an idol of the people, a terror to entrenched privilege—he would have risen to the very highest position in the country under a Swaraj Government. His memory of names and faces was wonderful: his grasp of details was the envy and the despair of his opponents: his strong, hilarious optimism disarmed opposition and carried everything before it: *relentless as Fate, beneficent as the Seasons, his will was indomitable.* His very faults were the excess of his strong virtues. The *Bengal Tiger* is dead: the man who rhinoceros-like traversed the ways of fruitful work is no more: may he in his new incarnation emerge as a Lion, the undisputed master of the four corners of a Resurgent India! From this distance across the foamy waters of the Bay, Indians of all classes in Burma will join in the chorus of wail that will be voiced from one end of Bengal to the other, that will reverberate in all Indian centres of culture and education, at this loss which cannot be repaired. For who could hope to step into the shoes of the illustrious deceased?—all India has not his equal, in his specific field of work. We send out, with hearts heavy-laden, condolences to the bereaved family. May God take His faithful Servant to His bosom! And may He prosper the Indianised University of Bengal, the legacy of a life's work left to posterity by Sir Asutosh Mookherji!

[*Rangoon Mail*]

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

It is with the deepest regret that we have to record the unexpected death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee just announced by the Associated Press. This sad news following immediately the death of Sir Asutosh Chowdury has had a shocking effect on the public mind as it removes two of the best sons of the present generation from the public life of Bengal. Not only people in Bengal but all Indians will deeply mourn the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the most distinguished leader and patriotic worker of Bengal. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee only recently retired from the Calcutta High Court, after completing a distinguished career in the Bench for about two decades. He would have completed the sixtieth year next June but it was understood that for some private reason he retired a little earlier than the scheduled time. Sir Asutosh is perhaps best remembered as a distinguished scholar and "father" of modern education in Bengal. All that he did for the reform of the Calcutta University and his valuable work in connection with the Calcutta University Commission are matters that cannot be dealt with in a brief paragraph. It is he who practically made the University of Calcutta what it is at present. At one time it was regarded that it was impossible to think of Sir Asutosh apart from the University: he was so deeply identified with it. After a distinguished career in the University, in which he never stood second in his life, he entered the Bar and in an incredibly short time be commanded a high practice in the Calcutta High Court on the appellate side as he was barred from the original side being a Vakil. In recognition of his high talent he was raised to the Bench from which he retired in December last. He was engaged in the famous Dumraon Raj case at Patna. He was an orthodox Brahmin, but his orthodoxy was based upon deep study of religion and enlightened conduct in social sphere. Inspite of great social opposition he had the courage to marry his daughter a second time after she became a widow very early. He was a member of the Imperial Legislative Council during the Viceroyalty of Lord Minto in the pre-reform days. He has left four sons, the eldest being a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court and a Senator—a daughter and wife. We offer our condolence to the bereaved family in their sorrow.

[*The Tribune*]

SIR ASUTOSH MUKHERJEE.

The news of the death of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, which occurred yesterday at Patna whither he had gone to conduct the famous Dumraon case will cast a gloom all over India, but the shadow will be deepest in Bengal, the scene of his beneficent life-work. His tireless efforts for the welfare of the Calcutta University, and the resultant achievements furnish a great and inspiring example of what one man of energy can do in his own lifetime to promote the cause of education in his country. His tenacity and even his occasional ferocity in defence of things which he thought worthy of defence earned him the nickname of "The Tiger of Bengal;" but the nickname was not given in abhorrence as was the case with the nickname of another "tiger," but in admiration of his courage and tenacity. Sir Asutosh was for many years a Judge (and for some time acting Chief Justice) of the Calcutta High Court, a post which he resigned less than a year ago in order to devote himself entirely to his work for his beloved University, of which he has been many times Vice-Chancellor. He was a member of the famous Calcutta University Commission; and in his more recent correspondence with Lord Lytton, always in defence of the University, he won fresh laurels in the opinion of all Indians. The Post-graduate scheme of the Calcutta University was his work. In fact he loved and cared for the University as a husband loves and cares for his bride; and his death must leave that institution in a widowed state. Sir Asutosh was sixty years of age. His death was sudden, for he was ill only for four days previously, and the serious turn the illness took was not anticipated. His memorial is the Calcutta University. All India sorrows with Bengal to-day for the loss of one whose service to Bengal reflected glory on all India.

[*The Bombay Chronicle*]

The death of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee deprives India and particularly Bengal of not only a great lawyer and distinguished judge but also of an eminent educationist and courageous patriot. He was one of the most forceful personalities of his day in the province and with his versatile genius indomitable will and rare energy easily became the master in every sphere of work he chose to enter in the service of his country. This brought him the reputation of a self-willed autocrat and gave room for various charges being levelled against him by his colleagues and opponents. But judged by the solid work he has been able to show to his credit and the stupendous nature of the obstacles he overcame by his zeal and determination, winning not a few victories against the bureaucracy who stood in his way, we must say he used his strength and qualities on good and noble purpose. It was he more than any other man in Bengal who made the Calcutta University what it is at the present day. The passion with which he desired freedom from official interference for our Universities was seen from the courageous fight that he put up as Vice-Chancellor, with Lord Lytton and his Education Minister before he resigned his post. He had a high conception of the functions of a University and his incessant labours in connection with reforming the Calcutta University bore fruit not only in reconstructing the latter into an edifice which challenges comparison, judged by other tests than examinations with any advanced University in Europe, but also inducing other provinces to take up to University reform and reconstruction with a zeal and earnestness unknown in the history of Indian educational progress, so far. His contribution to the cause of Indian educational renaissance was thus epoch-making and his loss at a time when much still remains to be done should be considered irrepairable. [*The Hindu*]

It is with profound regret that we have to record elsewhere the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, which sad event took place at Patna on the 25th evening. Sir Asutosh had been on a visit to that City in connection with the Dumraon case, but acute dilation of the stomach developed during the last three or four days, and the end came last Sunday evening quite unexpectedly. A pallor of gloom will descend over the whole country at the news of the death of this illustrious Indian ; for Sir Asutosh stands among the greatest of India's cultured sons, as one who has worked hard and well in the arduous task of the Nation-building. His sterling independence, demonstrated many times in the course of the fights he had to put up on behalf of the Calcutta University with both the Central and Bengal Governments, had won for him the title, "The Tiger of Bengal" ; but with his independence, Sir Asutosh combined a versatility and culture which very few can claim. His legal learning was profound ; as an authority on mathematics he occupied a very distinguished place, and there are to his credit many books on that subject ; his acquaintance with the ancient learning of the Hindus was deep and considerable.

Born in June, 1864, Sir Asutosh was educated in the Presidency College and later the City College, Calcutta, from which he took his B.A. degree in 1884. He stood first in Mathematics in the M.A. examination next year. In 1886, he won the Premchand Roychand Studentship, and in the meanwhile joined the Asiatic Society making contributions in mathematical subjects to the press, which have been since incorporated in the text books of the Cambridge University. In 1888, he was enrolled as a Vakil, and from 1887-92, was Professor of Mathematics at the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, while, in 1897, he was appointed Tagore Professor of Law at the Calcutta University.

It was but fitting that upon such a man, honours should have fallen thick. 1899 saw him a representative of the University in the Bengal Council, to which he was again returned from that constituency in 1901. In 1903, the contest for the Bengal seat in the Imperial Council was between the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Sir Surendranath Banerji and Sir Ashutosh, and the latter came out successful. His opposition to the Official Secrets Bill and his strong support of the Universities Bill are well-known, and his work on the Council terminated only by his elevation to the Bench of the Calcutta High Court in 1904. As a Judge, Sir Asutosh has fully sustained the high traditions of the Calcutta High Court, and his judgments have been always looked upon as weighty, and full of learning, serving to develop Indian law in all its branches. His retirement from the Bench took place only a few months back.

There is one aspect of Sir Asutosh's activities to which especial attention should be drawn, and that is as the executive head of the Calcutta University, as its Vice-Chancellor, since 1906. It is not too much to say that to Sir Asutosh mainly, the University owes its premier position in India; and the gain has been not only that of Calcutta but of all India, for Sir Asutosh's example as a zealous guardian of educational freedom has had a stimulating effect on the country. His service on the Calcutta University Commission, the Indian Universities Commission and similar bodies, is a matter of educational history. Sir Asutosh's contributions to Indian National life, educational, cultural, juridical, have been truly great. His simplicity has been a marked feature, and of him it can be said that he led a life of plain living and high thinking. As President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, his contribution to Oriental learning, to the task of unveiling to the West and Westernised Indians the glory of India's past has been immense. Though he has been removed from us by the hand of Providence—sixty is not an advanced age, even for an Indian—the memory of his life, so great and lofty, yet so simple, will be treasured for long by his grateful countrymen.

[*New India*]

The demonstration on Monday, paying respects to the earthly remains of the illustrious Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and expressing grief at his demise, had no parallel, quite in keeping with the *non pareil* nature of the man. The list of the mourners admitted of no distinction, not only as to religious persuasions, creed or colour, but also as to friend or enemy, admirer or detractor and vilifier. His unique greatness closed all ranks and formed the entire Indian population into a homogeneous whole. The extremely tragic suddenness of his exit from various fields of earthly activities, particularly from the University, which is in a state of transition, is such as to fill all thinking minds with misapprehension in reference to the future. But as fatalist and optimistic Hindus having an unlimited and unshakable confidence in providence being the fountain-head of pure good, we gather consolation from the belief that it is He, who has summoned his servant to eternal rest, of course not a moment too previously, for to think so would be a sin, will bless his surviving lieutenants and comrades and give them strength enough to fight to a finish the war that he leaves unfinished against the enemies of Indian progress up in arms to reduce Calcutta University to a state of dependence. We conclude with our expression of hearty condolence to Sir Asutosh's bereaved family, whose burden of grief will, we hope, be lightened by the whole nation bearing it as one man.

[*The Telegraph*]

POOR BENGAL.

Bengal is peculiarly unfortunate in losing her greatest son of the age, at a time when he had cast off the fetters of Government service and was prepared to give all his time for the service of the mother. He had not yet completed his sixtieth year and was in full vigour of body and mind; no change took place in his health that might give the slightest hint that the earthly career of the person, whom the people in all spheres of activity looked forward to for counsel and guidance, would close now. This however came with such dramatic suddenness that the news as flashed by Associated Press stunned all Bengal. The sense of loss caused by the death of Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri, which took place on Friday, plunged the people in profound grief, and, just two days after, the nation was confronted with the news that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee passed away at Patna. The affairs at Tarakeswar are crying for counsel from him. The political field is demanding his leadership. The University has to be re-organized and its affairs re-adjusted. But where is Sir Asutosh? From Patna his presence here was requisitioned at least once a week, and the business of the University, that had waited for him being released altogether from the case at Patna, is still waiting. But where is Sir Asutosh? He is translated to that plane, where there is no sting of malice, no animosity, no underhand, surreptitious dealing and no undertone tale-bearing and eaves-dropping. But is this time for the translation of the person, who is a *sine qua non* to Bengal? Who is there to take his place, particularly in the affairs of the University? Who is there to smooth angularities of Government? Where is the man to "stand above all for the maintenance of a Bengalee culture that should be as little affected as possible by occidental influences?" Who is to be the mainspring of the University and to supply the motive power? Who is there with the regulations at his fingers' ends and with the history of the last 30 years to the minutest particulars so much at his command? How is then the University to be re-organised and re-constructed? The senators have so long strenuously fought under the generalship of the deceased worthy against attempts at demolishing the autonomy which has ever been the privilege of Calcutta University. Will that autonomy be kept intact, or will it be a thing of the past, and the autonomous Institution reduced to a Government department? The *Englishman*, while paying due respects to the departed great man for his genius and for his towering personality, makes a reference to his autocracy and says that, but for that autocracy, he could have served the cause of the University even better. But this leads us to the question—Will democracy be able to steer the vessel of the University to the great goal, which the autocracy of the departed great man has set up before it? Calcutta University, as it is, is a unique Institution. How much greater would it be, if the goal for which Sir Austosh was steadily working, were reached. But, if, instead, a less ambitious project were adopted with no regard for the high and lofty ideal of the deceased sponsor, then it would mean nothing short of a disaster, which every son of Ind and everyone, who has the welfare of this country at heart, ought to exert his utmost to avoid. All Calcutta was in mourning on Monday and all India must be mourning his loss. But this feeling of grief and the exhibition of it will rather be a source of uneasiness to the high soul if the mourners finish their portion by weeping and do not pledge themselves to the leading of the University to its goal with its autonomy and high ideals quite intact. It behoves all classes, in the same way as they have done honour to his memory, to be united like one man to support his scheme and his ideal so that his beloved Institution, that he leaves in a state of imperfection—a factor which must be a source of solicitude to the departed soul, may be led to its goal in the fulness of glory and triumph.

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

The gloom in which the demise of Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri had plunged the public had scarcely time to abate, when it was overwhelmed on Monday morning last by the newspaper announcement of the death at Patna of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee retired from the Bench only the other day, in all but full possession of his usual bodily vigour and carrying with him the universal desire that, freed from the trammels of office, he would be able to use his great powers of brain and body, undimmed by age and undiminished by use, in rearing up and rehabilitating the political life of Bengal and through Bengal of India. But the Fates have ordered otherwise, and Bengal stands to-day bereft of her noblest son and stunned by a blow of well-nigh incalculable magnitude. Monday morning, when his remains arrived by rail at Howrah, witnessed a scene unparalleled in the history of this City. The usual communication between Howrah and Calcutta could not be re-established owing to a break-down of the mechanical arrangement of the bridge : but members of the public from High Court Judges to clerks in offices and schoolboys took whatever other means of transport were available to cross in order to obtain a last glimpse of the departed, so large a space did his great personality fill in the thoughts of the population, irrespective of rank and education. This spontaneous exhibition of love and reverence on the part of the general public was suitably responded to by his Lordship the Chief Justice immediately ordering a complete closing of the Court and its offices for the day. The bier was practically taken possession of by the crowd which led it, very appropriately, first to the Senate House of the Calcutta University, to which Sir Asutosh had given of his best, and followed it in procession to the burning ghat at Kalighat, which in the evening presented a spectacle not likely to be repeated within the life-time of the present generation.

Tributes to the memory of the great departed are being paid all over the country, and the newspapers are ringing with expressions of unfeigned sorrow from every quarter. In other columns of this issue will be found those paid on Monday last at the Patna High Court and on the following day at the Calcutta High Court. Nearly every aspect of the deceased's public activities has been suitably recognised in the speeches made on those occasions, and all that remains for us to do at the present moment is to stress the fact which is apt to be overlooked in all such notices of a man who stood for nearly forty years as the very embodiment of brain, life and power, that his heart was even larger than his brains. The public feel not merely that they have lost a leader, but a friend. The student population of Bengal in particular have lost in him one who loved them as no one else in Bengal has done since the passing of Pundit Vidyasagar. To them and to the members of his bereaved family we offer our sincerest condolence.

[*The Calcutta Weekly Notes*]

The week-end recorded two notable deaths in Bengalee society. On Saturday quietly passed away Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri and on Monday morning all Calcutta was startled by a Patna telegram that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee had died there after a brief illness on Sunday evening. Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri had been bed-ridden for some months past, and for the last few days his end was being momently expected. He came of a very ancient Brahmin family of Haripore in Pabna (North Bengal), and was a distinguished graduate of both Calcutta and Cambridge, and when he was called to the Bar and joined the Calcutta High Court his sucesss was almost immediate. But the drudgery of the law could not crush his other noble impulses, and he could always make time to devote a considerable portion of his attention to politics, arts and literature. He was an unsparing critic, but he never hit unfairly. And he never dipped his pen in vitriol. It is more than thirty-five years ago that he first administered a well-directed attack on the methods of the Calcutta University at a meeting of the Chaitanya Library held under the presidency of Mr. Justice Norris, and the attack coming from a pet child of the University served as an eye-opener and its affairs from that day forward ceased to be sacrosanct. In his footsteps many followed in subsequent years. In politics he was a Moderate and during the Partition agitation he was a prominent member of Sir (then of course, Mr.) Surendranath Banerjea's Cabinet.

But all his activities were confined within constitutional limits and even when along with his chief he fretted most he never thought of making a false step and walking into the extremist parlour, then just being fitted up with the necessary tapestry.

Yet as President of the Burdwan Conference, about that period, he let fall the dictum that a "subject-race has no politics"—a dictum upon which the extremist built up the whole fabric of his politics. Sir Asutosh was an ideal father, husband and brother. He was fondly attached to the family and the family fully reciprocatsd that feeling. In social life he was courtesy personified.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's death was quite unexpected. He had been at Patna since his retirement from the Calcutta High Court in connection with the Dumraon case and used to come down to Calcutta for the week-end. The week before the death he was here and his friends found him quite fit and nobody suspected that the shadow of death was deepening upon him. He was a remarkable man of his times and Bengal is distinctly the poorer by his loss. An eminent Judge, Jurist, Mathematician (of European reputation), and an educationist he occupied a very large space in the public life of Bengal. And why of Bengal?

Latterly he used to be looked upon as an All-India national asset. Distinguished Englishmen, who came in contact with him bore admiring testimony to his towering intellect, some going so far as to freely bracket him with men like Lord Haldane. And both Englishmen and Indians were impressed by his sturdy independence in every sphere of life—on the bench or as a member of a departmental committee. Asutosh was no respecter of persons, and in spite of his wide Western culture he was an Indian of Indians. But when his work as a Judge will be forgotten, posterity will gratefully contemplate the Calcutta University as it is to-day as a glorious monument to his genius, for a very considerable portion of his life's activities were bound up with this very ancient seat of English education on this side of India. The University was to him the breath of his nostrils and its expansion on its present lines is his work. He lived, moved and had his being in the University—purely a work of love inspired by the English patriotism of carrying the torch of knowledge to every Bengalee home. And if the University authorities perpetuate his memory—as they must—by a statue, the fitting inscription at the pedestal would be "Si monumentum queris circumspice." Sir Asutosh was a great patron of the merit wherever found and he had many times raised a hornet's nest about his ear over this question of the distribution of patronage. Evil tongues were let loose, slander flew about with unrelenting ferocity, hearts burnt like molten lava in a volcano—but Asutosh's instincts were always clear. He was seldom got hold of by wrong men and they have invariably justified his choice. Bengal has lost one of her greatest sons, and she is in deep mourning.

[*Capital*]

The death of Asutosh Mookerjee causes a gap in the public life of Bengal and India which will long remain unfilled. Among his contemporaries there is no one who can take his place. Among his juniors we do not know of anybody who can do justice to all his various roles even after the lapse of some years of strenuous preparation. Others there are who are eminent in their respective spheres of scholarship, culture, professional work, or public usefulness, but there is no one who is so eminent in so many fields of activity, who is so great a scholar in so many languages and branches of knowledge, so great a professional man, so great a man of affairs and of action, so great an administrator and so great an architect and builder of institutions as Asutosh Mookerjee was in his one but manysided personality.

The boy Asutosh gave promise of his future greatness. His academic career was brilliant. The present writer remembers him as his senior fellow-collegian at the Presidency College. His one and only brother Hemanta Kumar Mookerjee, long deceased in youth, was our class-fellow. That gave us an opportunity to know Asutosh later somewhat closely. At the Presidency College we knew him as leading orator of the College Union and a student who was reputed to know more than some of his teachers, particularly in some branches of higher mathematics. His looks, his movements, his whole demeanour betokened perfect self-confidence. He was never a fashionable young man, though born of well-to-do parents, and, to our knowledge, never indulged in any luxuries or caught any of the bad habits of the young men of the day, as smoking, etc. He came to college clad in a plain white Panjabi shirt and a *dhoti* of which the plaited front-tuck scarcely or just reached down to his shoes. We do not remember his youthful figure usually or ever carrying a chadar on its broad shoulders; for which reason he was playfully styled President of the Chadar Nibarini Sabha or Society for the Disuse of the Chadar.

There is an anecdote that before finally adopting the law as his profession, he had intended to be a professor, but that he gave up the idea because he was given hopes of an appointment, not in the superior, but in the provincial service by the head of the education department. As was natural for a young man with such great powers, he could not reconcile himself to occupy a secondary position in the educational department. He would be in the front rank and in the long run first, or he would not be there at all. Had he been given a chair in the superior service, he would certainly have been able to do much notable original work in mathematics, as even while a student he had done some original work in that subject; but probably he would not have been able to accomplish for the cause of education and research what his position and influence enabled him to do.

Of his work as a lawyer and a judge, we do not possess adequate first-hand knowledge and are therefore not competent to speak. But we have heard of his profound and extensive knowledge of the law, his remarkable forensic ability, his independence as a judge, and the great pains he took with his judgments.

He was for some time one of the municipal commissioners (as the municipal councillors were then called) of Calcutta, and also member of the provincial and imperial legislative councils, and did useful work in all these capacities. Had he chosen to devote as much of his time and energies to municipal work as Pherozeshah Mehta did in Bombay, he could have easily achieved as much distinction as, if not greater than, what Mehta did in his native city. If he had elected to be a politician and statesman and specialized in Council work, he might have rubbed shoulders with and possibly surpassed Gokhale. In fact, no achievement, no distinction were beyond his reach in any field in which great intellectual powers, uncommon capacity for mastering details, remarkable debating powers, wide range of information, self-confidence, courage, patriotism and indefatigable energy are passports to success.

But it was the advancement of the causes of education, knowledge and culture which was his chosen field of work, and here he achieved eminence. For these he laboured with exemplary devotion in various degrees as no one of his generation, and perhaps none of any previous generation in modern India, as far as we are aware, did. Therefore he was justified in saying as he once did:

" Of myself I may say with good conscience that, if often I have not spared others I have never spared myself. For years now, every hour, every minute I could spare from other unavoidable duties—foremost among them the duties of my judicial office—has been devoted by me to University work. Plans and schemes to heighten the efficiency of the University have been the subject of my day-dreams, into which even a busy man lapses from time to time; they have haunted me in the hours of nightly rest. To University concerns, I have sacrificed all chances of study and research, possibly, to some extent, the interests of family and friends, and, certainly, I regret to say, a good part of my health and vitality."

It is a matter for deep regret that, in consequence, he has not been able to leave behind any original work which is commensurate with his massive intellectual powers.

He was repeatedly elected president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In 1909 he was elected president of the Trustees of the Indian Museum, and at about the same time he became president of the Board of Sanskrit Examiners in Bengal. He was also we believe president of the Mahabodhi Society. He was the founder and president of the Mathematical Society of Bengal. Nowhere was he a mere ornamental figurehead. His amazing power of work enabled him to do much useful work in every capacity.

Of the Calcutta University, as we know it to-day, he was the chief architect and builder. In this work he had colleagues and helpers, no doubt; but no architect and builder does everything with his own hands—and Asutosh Mookerjee did even that to a great extent. For the facts that the Calcutta University is the first and foremost teaching University in India, that it teaches more students in more subjects than any other Indian University, that in many sciences and arts it has turned out a laudable amount of genuine research, the chief credit is due to the man who has served it longer and with greater devotion as a senator, a syndic and a vice-chancellor than any other person. He was president of both the departments of post-graduate study, in arts and science and of most of the Boards of Study and Faculties and Committees; but absenteeism was not his forte,—ceaseless activity was. This unrestrained indulgence of his voracious and insatiable appetite for work was not prudent; it must have told on his health though that was not apparent, and possibly sometimes on the quality of the product, too. But we presume, his devotion and overmastering self-confidence prevented him from entertaining any thought of spending his energies frugally.

It was evidently his patriotic ambition that his University should be not only the first in India but also among the first and in course of time, the very foremost, in the world, though it cannot be said that the policy and means and methods adopted for realizing that object were *all* calculated to produce that result. He was a believer not only in his own intellectual capacity but in that of his countrymen. Hence it is that we find that in his University, every branch of study is taught at least by some Indian professors. He had, of course, no narrow ideas of boycotting foreign talent to the detriment of the cause of education. At the same time, he took effective steps to prevent the discouragement, repression and suppression of indigenous talent, and for its encouragement; and he had the satisfaction to see that his faith in the capacity of his countrymen had been justified. In both the Palit and Ghose trusts the deeds provide that all the professors, fellows, etc., were to be of pure Indian extraction. We have no definite information as to whether this provision originated with Asutosh Mookerjee, but it may be presumed that he had something to do with it. In paying a tribute to his memory Mr. S. R. Das the Advocate General, said at the High Court:

"It was due to his persuasive eloquence and his great work at the University that the late Sir Taraknath Palit, and Sir Rash Behary Ghose were induced to make such munificent donations to the Science College attached to the University."

Other donations, such as the Khaira Endowment and many lesser ones, were obtained for the University by this its most distinguished alumnus.

Asutosh Mookerjee quite rightly thought that the work of appraising the ancient civilisation and culture of India should not be the monopoly of foreigners—and that certainly the final judgment should not rest with them. He, therefore, gave great encouragement to the study of and research in the history of ancient India and its culture and civilization. Some of the university workers in this field have done good work. The encouragement of the study of Pali and Tibetan and Chinese has indirectly the same object in view. Rejuvenation of an ancient civilized people requires a knowledge of its past life and ideals. The university may be expected to do more in future to supply this knowledge than it has yet done.

One hears frequently of the evil effects of Western education in India. This is not the occasion to discuss the subject. But one may be permitted to refer here to at least one or two good results of Western education. It has furnished us with a lingua franca for the educated classes in India by means of which they can exchange thoughts and ideas, know one another, and gradually become unified. The English language has also become a medium of communication with the outside world. This has broken down the isolating walls of India's self-immurement and brought her to the centre of the current of world-thought. The greater the spread and expansion of education, the more are these results brought about. Lord Curzon's University Act was intended to hinder the growth and expansion of higher education. Asutosh Mookerjee turned it into an instrument for that very growth and expansion—though quality was often sacrificed to quantity. It is by means of Western education that we have also been enabled to know our past, and thus to rejuvenate and re-nationalize ourselves. We have already referred to what the university has done in this direction.

But the development of India is not confined to only hoary antiquity. It has gone on down to our own times. And the story of Indian life and culture is not confined to only Sanskrit and Pali works and ancient buildings, ruins, sculptures, paintings, coins and inscriptions. Much of it has to be pieced together from the many vernacular literatures of India. These have to be studied. Under Asutosh Mookerjee the Calcutta University has inaugurated their study. There is no other university which offers teaching in so many Indian vernaculars. No doubt, we are still only in the inaugural stage. But if these studies are pursued under genuine scholars with real enthusiasm, we should in course of time have a better conception of Indian culture, character and ideals to inspire our lives and unify us as a people, than could otherwise be obtained.

The Calcutta University, along with some other institutions and men, has given an impetus to the study of the Bengali language and literature. Mighty developments would await the future of this study encouraged by Asutosh Mookerjee, once it got out of its present ruts.

He once presided over the Bengali Literary Conference and gave expression in his address to his noble dream of the glorious future of his mother tongue and literature.

The University has in view education in science and the arts not only of the academic kind, but desires also to foster technological, commercial and agricultural education. Under proper guidance and with the receipt and proper utilization of funds, these practical departments ought to have a great future. The greatest alumnus of the University had in him the power to ensure this guidance and control. But he has been cut off while still in full possession of his vigour of mind and body. So we are precluded from seeing what he would have done.

One of the latest, if not the latest of the studies in which the University had begun to do something under the initiative of Asutosh Mookerjee, is fine arts. This shows that he was responsive to contemporary forces and exigencies. His ideas were growing; he had recourse to new devices to gain his ends. Contrary to appearance, he was not *in reality* indifferent to criticism; for he not infrequently wanted his critics to give him constructive suggestions.

It is not possible in a Note to do justice to the multifarious activities of so great a man. So let us now conclude with a few observations on the *man* who was known all over Bengal as Asu Babu. Asutosh is a very common name in Bengal; every village and town has some Asutoshes. Persons bearing the name of Asutosh Mookerjee are also plentiful. But when in Bengal people talked and wrote of Asu Babu, there was no mistaking, who was meant. *Babu* Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya remained and was proud to remain a Bengali Babu to the end of his days. Except when official work or functions made it absolutely necessary, he would never doff his dhoti and put on any other garments. For instance, he attended the meetings of the Sadler Commission in his national dress. He lived like a Bengali Babu, dressed and ate and spoke and moved about like one. That was an outward manifestation of his patriotism and nationalism. He was perfectly accessible to every one, from the humble student upwards. He would listen patiently and sympathetically to all that one had to say, and would *really* do what he could, not merely say he would try. One cannot be sure, but it is probable, that there are in Bengal more men under obligation of some sort or other to him than to any other Bengali. No wonder, that there have been sycophants and others who have taken undue advantage of his disposition to help.

His was a masterful personality. If it came to that, he could outstare your biggest official bully going. In no tussle or controversy with foreigners did he ever come out second best. He knew more about the Calcutta University, and in fact about all other Universities than any living Indian. As regards educational information, he would not have suffered by comparison with foreign authorities on the subject. His eminence as an educationalist and scholar was recognised outside the limits of Bengal also. With Herculean capacity for work and unusual powers of organization, he combined such tactfulness and the power of adapting means to ends, not being oversqueamish in the choice of means, that he could make men of various creeds, races, temperaments and tastes work together. In diplomacy and the use of secret sources of information, he was the equal, or perhaps more than the equal, of the Anglo-Indian bureaucrat. Had he lived to enter the field of politics, he would have been a formidable opponent. Such was his skill and courage in weathering storms, that though he had to face many he neither bent nor broke.

Though often stern and unbending in public life, and therefore feared, he was a most loving father. When his eldest daughter became a widow while still a girl, he got her married again, facing a storm of opposition and vulgar and libellous abuse. The untimely death of his daughter, who had again become a widow, was a great blow to him. It is surmised that this bereavement, combined with the illness of his wife, had much to do with sapping his vitality.

He was an example of plain living and high thinking. He was an orthodox Hindu of the modern type. We know of no reasons to doubt his sincerity. But it may perhaps be added that his orthodoxy was part of his nationalism. For a nationalist he was—with this difference that whereas other nationalists aim at national self-realization and self-assertion by direct political endeavour, he wanted to reach the same goal through education and culture. We had some revealing talks with him once on the progress of nationalism in the country.

Not that he had no defects. He had the defects of his great qualities, and the institution on which he had lavished so much devotion and for which and through which he exercised his unusual capacity for recognising the worth of an encouraging men, has also its defects. But this is not the time to refer to or discuss them. This is a time when we may and should derive an impetus for work from a contemplation of the work of his life. A foreigner who is a mere onlooker may, if he knows all the facts, take a detached and dispassionate view of his life. But few Bengalis who have the heart of a Bengali can think of his sudden and untimely death unmoved by feelings akin to those which are roused by a personal bereavement.

[*The Modern Review*]

LATE ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

So suddenly and unexpectedly overwhelmed by a calamity whose magnitude it is yet too early to forecast Bengal's emotion at the passing away of Asutosh Mookerjee is akin to what is produced by death by lightning of one's dearest and nearest relation. That there is absolutely no ring of exaggeration about this estimate of the effect of this unforeseen and unforeseeable catastrophe must be admitted by those who had the honour and good fortune of being at Howrah station at 10 o'clock yesterday morning when a special train brought the dead body of this illustrious countryman of ours to the thickly crowded railway platform. Every five minutes the ear of the anxious crowd was craned to catch the sound of the long-expected special. The congregation mostly composed of the intellectual elite of Bengal did not show the least signs of impatience though many had to wait in these dog days of May from 7 to 10 a.m. The sense of indescribable loss was written on every face; everybody who was somebody hastened to the Railway Station to have the last glimpse of those long familiar moustaches. That Asutosh was no more seemed to be an event to which no one was capable of reconciling himself. Though every inch of the station platform was occupied yet an unfillable void appeared to have been gaping all around. Even those who had no accurate appreciation of his intellectual greatness felt, and that with the whole of his being, that a giant of energy and work had disappeared from our midst. We hardly realised till the supreme hour of the death of such a forceful personality that the world has an unerring instinct for the perception of greatness no matter in what sphere it works. The suddenness of Asutosh Mookerjee's death was perhaps intended to bring home to his countrymen the enormity of the loss caused and sustained. He died literally in harness. Work was the very breath of his life. A Bengalee from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head he showed all his life a capacity for work hardly possible even in inhabitants of more salubrious climes. He grew and throve on one single idea—the educational welfare of his countrymen. That was his "Yoga" and that was his "Samadhi." The University was his all-absorbing mistress. Though a highly successful lawyer and Judge, neither the Bench nor the Bar could claim even a fraction of the passion which he felt for his "Alma Mater." The brick and mortar of the Senate House was really the blood of his heart and the marrow of his bones. It is no figure of speech that he lived, moved and had his being in the University. He could bear a stab at his heart but not a disparaging word about the university of his own making. A man of such one passion and one obsession is bound to commit mistakes which only heighten his glory and throw into bolder relief his unsurpassable achievements. His so-called limited horizon and shortness of sight only helps the fullest development of all the powers of his manhood. He is able to create and organize where others of broader vision fail. Great men do many things unconsciously. This was the case with Asutosh. He was not a prlofessed, social, political and religious reformer; yet he was all three combined in the born educationist that he was. Not a sworn nationalist yet he was one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of our nationalist workers. Effectiveness of his work in this direction lay in its unobtrusiveness. He knew our graduates as we do not know even our own sons, brothers and cousins. Like nature's greatest elements his greatness was synthetic and loses by analysis. In serving with a singular type of single-mindedness the cause of education of his country he has served unconsciously and automatically all its different important interests. In fact he it was who has furnished all the raw materials for time had their quarrel with the quality of these workers but where has the Creator ever furnished us anything beyond the soil and the seed? He very often seemed not to be very scrupulous about his methods and means but a man of single passion and obsession has always this defect of his qualities. Small men as we are, we plead guilty to not having been able to take his full measure when he was in our midst; but that the voice of nature cries even from the ashes of departed greatness has been proved beyond doubt by the sincere and highly inspiring demonstrations of honour with which the mortal remains of this Bengalee were hailed at the Howrah Railway Station and Keoratolá crematorium. With these feebly expressed sentiments we offer our heartfelt condolence to the bereaved family and hope that a woe sitting so heavily on all may not press them the hardest. [*The Servant*]

Only two days ago Bengal lost Sir Asutosh Chowdhury. And before she could recover from the grief, the cruel hand of death snatched away Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Both great in the public life, the two not only bore the same name, but were close friends. How often the two Knights, Chowdhury and Mookerjee could be seen side by side in the Senate meetings! Death has knit closer the tie of friendship that bound the two heroes in life.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was so accessible, so much in public eye, so popular with all sections of the Calcutta public, that anecdotes about him and his manner and relation of life are numerous. But it may not be generally known that Sir Asutosh was a voracious eater. That bulk, that body mostly bare squatting on the floor for his means, was a sight reminding one of the simple, unostentatious rural life of Bengal. And Sir Asutosh was above all a Bengali.

The most noticeable feature of the huge gathering which had assembled at the Howrah Station on Monday morning to offer their devotion to the last remains of Sir Asutosh was the almost complete absence of Europeans on the occasion. It looked as if all of them had scrupulously absented themselves. While almost all the Indian Judges of the High Court attended the Howrah Station and kept on waiting from three to four hours, the European Judges were conspicuous by their absence. It is, of course, unthinkable that in the long course of Sir Asutosh's career as a Judge of the High Court, he made no friends amongst his European colleagues. How is, their absence to be accounted for? There are people who seem to think that the late tussle of Sir Asutosh with Lord Lytton had alienated the love and sympathy of the Europeans in Calcutta. We are not, however, aware how far it represented the truth. Anyway this incident, though small in itself, calls for some explanation. It was rightly felt to be a highly discordant element in the whole affair and formed a subject matter of general talk amongst the people assembled at the Howrah Station. The people, at any rate, cannot dismiss the affair as entirely devoid of any significance. [*Forward*]

An Interesting Incident of His Life.

Whether in the railway train, on board a steamer, in the Bar Library or out on the road, people have been recounting to each other the innumerable incidents in the life of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee by way of emphasising his great independence of thought and action.

May I relate, an incident which is not generally known or which at any rate, has not generally been advertised. It happened about twenty years ago, when Lord Curzon, who had been profoundly impressed by Asutosh's Scholarship, conveyed to him through Sir John Woodburn a request to proceed to Europe, so that the European peoples might have first-hand knowledge of what English education had been able to do for an Indian in India. All Sir John's persuasiveness failed to make any impression on Asutosh, who declined the invitation for the reason that his mother strongly disapproved of the idea of his crossing the seas.

The inevitable happened. Lord Curzon was nettled, and Asutosh was summoned to the Viceregal presence. The request repeated by Lord Curzon himself, and when it was again refused on the ground of the mother's scruples, that "Superior person" and intolerant Viceroy hissed out, "Then tell your mother that the Viceroy and Governor-General of India commands her son to go." Wihtout a moment's hesitation and without even the slightest suspicion of a falter came the ringing retort, "Then I will tell the Viceroy of India on her behalf that the mother of Asutosh Mookerjee refuses to let her son be commanded by anybody excepting herself be he the Viceroy of India, or be he anybody greater."

Such was the independence, such was the courage, and such the filial devotion of the great man whom God probably considered to be too great to be allowed to live in our midst any longer.—Barada Prasanna Pain,—Bar Library, Howrah, 28-5-24.

Gifted with a powerful intellect, holding a position of great prominence in Calcutta, and involved as he was in numerous controversies, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was inevitably the theme of a great many stories. The following, which may be taken as authentic, relates to a brilliant English educationist, well known in Calcutta twenty years ago, and now engaged in active work in London. " I am the most influential person in India," announced this gentleman one evening after dinner. He was by no means a retiring individual, but his friends were moved to demand an explanation. " It's very simple," he went on, " Asutosh Mookerjee will do anything I tell him. The Viceroy will do anything Asutosh tells him. Therefore the Viceroy will do anything I tell him. Q.F.D." When it is added that the Viceroy referred to was Lord Curzon, the daring of the syllogism may be appreciated.—*The Statesman.*

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

Misfortune never comes alone. Soon after the setting of a glorious star, the passing away of Justice A. Chowdhury comes the news of the sudden demise of another illustrious son of Bengal—a sun among suns of the mightiest magnitude—the great Royal Bengal Tiger of this province, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. It is a mountain, a Himalayan peak, an Indra that has suddenly fallen. All Bengal and all India weeps at the mighty loss—a loss which can never, by none be refilled. Our Asutosh was a man among men—a Personality before whom rulers stood in deep reverence, a Genius of giant capacity, who would erect a monument at the beck of a finger. Yet Asutosh was a Brahman amongst Brahmins also—an orthodox devout nationalist at heart, whose very life and soul and character represented the spirit of Manhood itself. It was this spirit of manhood, his soul of courage and conviction, his absolute fearlessness and freedom, which won for him the title of 'Tiger of Bengal' and the Tiger feared none, never succumbed to any, resisting his imperious will, would yield his reins of power and authority to none, who could ill perform what he could royally and victoriously fulfil himself. Pigmies who felt too short beside him in point of manhood and capacity, weaklings who could not bend him but had to bend themselves, called him an Autocrat, a Dictator, who loved power and undisputed authority. So was he indeed,—a Dictator, an Autocrat and he had the power and gift of being so. He used that power, he manipulate that gift for the benefit of his countrymen. The great University of Calcutta owes an irrepayable debt to his genius and helmsmanship and will ever bear the impress of his Roman hand in every inch of its body. One Asutosh has gone to join hands with another Asutosh —both were great friends in life, inspired by the same mission of education. May their immortal souls rest in peace for ever and shower eternal blessings upon their countrymen! Aum! Shantih! Shantih!! Shantih!!! [*The Standard Bearer*]

THE PASSING OF SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

A Prince of men has fallen in Bengal. In the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Bengal has lost its most prominent and outstanding personality of to-day, and new India one of its most remarkable makers. Intellectually and educationally, Sir Asutosh has had no equal in all India. As a builder and administrator, Sir Asutosh has had the unique distinction of making his own *Alma Mater* the proudest University and centre of higher education in all Asia. Lord Curzon had intended his Universities Act as an instrument to crush and paralyse the University of Calcutta, but thanks to the wonderful intellectual subtlety of this great Bengalee, this occasion was turned into a splendid opportunity for converting College Square into one of the busiest and most distinguished haunts for Post-graduate studies and researches in the whole world. Since then, he had remained at the helm of affairs in College Square, undisturbed by all wicked wides and intrigues. Many attempts had been made at Simla and Calcutta to replace this heroic pilot, but do what they would, Sir Asutosh had always steered the ship of higher education in Bengal clear from all rocks and no one could think of dropping the pilot. To him the vast field of education was no uncharted water, and he knew all the rocks that surrounded his fragile craft. No man was so indispensable in his sphere of public life and activity as Sir Asutosh was in the administration of affairs in the University of Calcutta.

Sir Asutosh became the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University in 1906 when, after a strenuous and protracted effort, the Senate had failed to complete the new regulations required to be framed by Lord Curzon's Universities Act; and the first duty that devolved upon him, as the head of the University, was to preside over the deliberations of a special Committee appointed to frame a complete body of new regulations for promulgation by the Government of India. The task was onerous in the extreme; but the next urgent task before him was probably even more trying than this. It was to reshape the life and working of the University on the basis of what had been settled in theory. Reforms of the most incisive kind had to be carried through in every department of University life and training, and the toil of Sir Asutosh was truly herculean. "Of myself," he said on one occasion, "I may say with good conscience that, if often I have not spared others. I have never spared myself. For years now, every hour, every minute I could spare from other unavoidable duties—foremost among them the duties of my judicial office—has been devoted by me to University work. Plans and schemes to heighten the efficiency of the University have been the subject of my day dreams, into which even a busy man lapses from time to time; they have haunted me in the hours of nightly rest. To University concerns, I have sacrificed all chances of study and research, possibly, to some extent the interests of family and friends, and, certainly, I regret to say, a good part of my health and vitality." As the result of this hard labour, the Calcutta University accomplished under him what might be designated as a new creation—it planned and carried out what had previously hardly been imagined, and certainly not attempted in any University east of the Suez. As he observed years ago, it was no slight thing to have initiated, at any rate, a comprehensive scheme for the housing and the superintendence of the entire student population, it was no slight thing to have effected a reform of legal education in Bengal, it was a great thing to have found means to open, to the gain and benefit of our University, the sources of private liberality which, for so many years, seemed to have run completely dry, and it was a great thing to have assisted at the birth of the Teaching University of Calcutta. Perhaps, he did more in his lifetime to promote the best interests of the vernacular of the province than even Marshman, Carey and Ward did early in the last century, or any Indian since the days of Raja Rammohan Ray. The Bengali language and literature have not only a Chair in the Calcutta University now but they have been made compulsory subject of study from the lowest forms to the degree of Bachelor of Arts and Science.

Besides his great gifts and intellectual equipment, Sir Asutosh was a man of extraordinary independence perhaps without a parallel in the annals of new India. When quite a young boy, studying in the Presidency College he headed a youthful agitation against Mr. Justice Norris' sentence of Surendranath Banerjea on a charge of contempt of Court. He had carried this fighting spirit and sturdy independence till almost the winter of 1923, when he had gathered courage to write those historic letters to Lord Lytton which threw a bomb shell into the camp of the Philistines. The remarriage of his widowed daughter indicated beyond cavil the courage he could gather to fight against social conventions and tyrannies. Personally a great scholar and a learned jurist, a distinguished man of action as well as of thought, he was most accessible to all classes of people and he never missed an opportunity to do a good turn to those who called on him for help. The passing of such a man, in the full vigour of his life, and almost in harness, is one of the greatest tragedies which might befall Bengal at such a time. It does not seem likely that the place of such a man will be filled in Bengal within many years to come. In the meantime, let us hope, that generations of Indians will continue to emulate the culture, patriotism, and independence of the great and gifted Bengalee, whose sudden death hundreds of thousands of our countrymen from the Himalayas to Indian Ocean and from Quetta to Dibrugurh are mourning to-day as a personal bereavement.

[*The Bengalee*]

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

We hear with deep regret of the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the distinguished educationist of Bengal, at Patna. For a long time the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, he remained to the end the greatest authority on educational questions. His death, at a time when University reforms are being considered, will detract greatly from the value of the findings of the Universities Conference.

[*The Indian Social Reformer*]

BUDDHIST CONDOLENCE MEETING.

A largely attended meeting took place at the Buddhist Vihara, College Square, Calcutta, on Thursday evening to pass a vote of condolence on the death of Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, life President of the Buddhist Society and first Vice-Chancellor of the proposed Buddhist University at Sarnath.

Among those present were several Bhikkhus of the Buddhist order besides Dr. Bhandarkar, Dr. H. W. B. Moreno, Mr. S. C. Mukherjee and others. The Revd. Angarika Dharmapala presided.

Dr. Bhandarkar said that the passing away of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee had literally unnerved and paralysed them. It was irreparable. They knew the story of the pilgrims who wanted to find out what an elephant was like and who began to draw this own queer inference about the nature of the animal from its foot, tail, trunk or ear. Such must be the case with them in trying to gauge Sir Ashutosh's intellectual immensity and his perennial activity. If he was called supreme, they should not try, intellectual pigmies that they were, to make an estimate of his work and character. The speaker continued that it was forgotten by the people of their countrymen that they had a high noble civilization and played a conspicuous part in teaching and civilizing the neighbouring countries. It was impossible for any Indian to think what Buddhism had done not only for the Far East but also for Khotan and Turkistan without a thrill of pleasure and pride. Nobody was therefore more alive to the necessity of carrying on a systematic research in this sphere than Sir Ashutosh himself. It was with this object in view that he instituted Sanskrit and Pali studies in Calcutta University. It was for this reason that he agreed also to be the Vice-Chancellor of the Buddhist University which was being formed in Sarnath. It was Sir Ashutosh who was expected to show them the way how people of different nationalities could meet for the critical study of Buddhism and for estimating what influence that religion exercised upon the world, much to the glory and pride of this country when Buddhism originated and developed. His demise at this critical juncture could not but be a source of extreme grief to them and without his guidance, without his inspiration and without his encouragement, they had now to continue the work.

Mr. S. C. Mukherjee, Bar-at-Law, then addressed the meeting in a lengthy speech in conclusion of which he said:—

"We shall ever mourn his loss. Our grief is the keener owing to this fact that it was not yet his time to pass away. It was an accidental death due to the hardship of Patna life in this extremely hot weather. His memory should be venerable as the Greatest Indian of his generation. He loved the idea of establishing the Buddhist University at Sarnath which is in the course of foundation. He declared it with pride in this very hall that he would be its First Vice-Chancellor and that Mr. Dharmapala should be its first Registrar."

If I had money gentlemen I would have certainly started a school for teaching only Pali equipping it with the best Sanskrit-knowing Pandits and to have had Indian books translated into Bengalee and Devnagri and Urdu and Tamil and thus to have popularised the Golden thoughts contained in Pali accessible to the poorest purse in India. A lakh of Rupees invested would yield enough to make a fair beginning. As I am a poor man I hope well-to-do members of this society and the general public may favourably entertain the suggestion.

Dr. Moreno also spoke about the life of Sir Ashutosh. He said that in the nature of things all of them were mortal. Both great and small came to the same end, but good deeds and great thoughts lived for ever. This was the teaching of Buddha. Great as was the work of Sir Ashutosh it fell upon those now living to continue what had been left behind.

CALCUTTA CORPORATION'S CONDOLENCE.

' A painting or a picture of the erection of a bust or a statue cannot commemorate the greatness of great Sir Asutosh Mookerjee; his was a dynamic personality. We want something living—we want something growing, to commemorate in a fitting manner his greatness—something which will carry with it the message of the struggle of to-day with the fulness of to-morrow."

With these words ringing through the Council Chamber, the Mayor, Mr. C. R. Das, closed the proceedings of the special meeting of the Calcutta Corporation held yesterday evening to condole the death of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, one of the greatest men of India, who was a member of the Corporation from 1902-04 and which he represented on the Bengal Legislative Council.

After expressing profound sorrow at the death of Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee it was decided to appoint a committee to consider what form a memorial to Sir Asutosh should take.

Babu Priyanath Mallik moved:—That the Corporation of Calcutta places on record its sense of deep sorrow and irreparable loss at the sad and sudden death of Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee one of the foremost citizens of Calcutta and one of the greatest men of

India, who, by the singular gifts of his massive intellect, his vast erudition, his fearless independence and his intense patriotism, had for more than quarter of a century, occupied an outstanding position in the life of this country.

Maulvi Abdul Halim seconded the resolution.

Lt. Bejoy Prosad Singh Roy, Mr. Hooper, representing the European community, Maulana Akram Khan, Professor J. R. Banerjee, Babu Brajagopal Goswami, Mr. U. C. Das-Gupta, Maulvi Abdul Razak, Babu Badridas Goenka, Babu Provudayal Himatsinha, Mr. Zeel Huq, Babu Sanat Kumar Roy Chaudhuri, Dr. Adyanath Chatterjee, Dr. Narendra Nath Law, Babu Ram Kumar Goenka and Dr. H. N. Das supported the resolution.

Chief Executive Officer.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Chief Executive Officer, said:—Mr. Mayor, on behalf of the staff of the Calcutta Corporation allow me to lend my cordial support to the resolution which is before you. Many of us are personally grateful, are heavily indebted to the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for more reasons than one, and I may say most of us, if not all, are products of that University of which that great man was the very life and soul. I need not say more. There are occasions when thoughts lie too deep for words and I venture to think this is one of those occasions. I will only point out that we earnestly hope that the life of Sir Ashutosh, his intense patriotism his single minded devotion to duty, his unbounded capacity for work and above all his versatile talents and many sided activities will serve as a beacon light to us in the discharge of those onerous duties which at your bidding have devolved upon us.

Mr. L. M. De moved:—That a message of condolence be communicated to Lady Mukherji, Councillor Ramaprasad Mukerjee, the eldest son of the deceased and the other members of the bereaved family.

Mr. S. M. S. Rahaman seconded and Nripendra Nath Bose supported the resolution which was also passed.

Sj. S. K. Basu.

Babu Santosh Kumar Basu moved that a committee consisting of eight members be formed to consider what steps should be taken to perpetuate the memory of Sir Ashutosh Mookherjee in this Corporation. He said:—It is a sad irony of fate that when we were counting the days for the return of the great giant to his dear native city and to initiate the great movement of primary education which the new Corporation had decided to launch under his masterly leadership, we should have to assemble here to-day so soon and so early in deep national mourning, because Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was no more. The very personification of health and strength, both in body and mind imparting life and vigour to all that came in his contact, he seemed to us to be so far away from death. In all our future programmes and schemes of national progress, he had filled such a large and essential part of our mental canvas, that we had almost forgotten that after all he too was a man, and that he too could leave us with such cruel suddenness in the midst of the ever-increasing responsibilities of his countrymen. Singular and remarkable in everything in life, he has been remarkable indeed in death. He has reminded us once again with a painful shock that in the midst of life, we are in death. Sir, I shall not make any attempt to compass by words the height of his towering personality or the depth of his kindliness and sympathy to all that was good and deserving. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was an Institution in himself—so familiar, so intimate, so indispensable to us all. In moments of national trouble, Bengal could find shelter under the protecting wings of the massive intellect and sturdy independence with a feeling of restfulness and trustful dependence. It was he alone to whom we had learned to look up for the vindication of the Educational rights and privileges of the Indian youth. It was he again, who could assert and establish those rights with the indomitable courage and thoroughness all his own.

Unrivalled Constructive Genius.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee had in his own life realised to the fullest extent the great heritage of India's past. Drunk deep in India's ancient lore, his whole ideal of culture, his plain and simple style of living, so aggressively Indian, so refreshingly self-respecting, silently proclaimed that he was conscious of his great lineage—the continuity of his race with the sages of this land. Indeed, to my mind, he had often seemed like a "Rishi" of olden times, great in knowledge and wisdom, simple in food and dress, overflowing with the milk of human kindness, yet concealing within himself that noble fire that smothered and silenced all opposition to the great causes upon which he had set his heart. Realising the ancient culture of India in her present-day life, weaving into it all that is best in the west, it was his ideal to fashion and moved a still more glorious future for this country. And much as he had achieved by his unrivalled constructive genius, India had been looking forward to the spacious years to come, for the fitting culmination of his work in every department of her life. Because, once he had chalked out his path after taking stock of the situation, he would drive full steam ahead, bending everything to his own will, leaving nothing for his successor to accomplish. That was Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Those are the virtues India, to-day, stands most in need of. He is gone. That robust physical frame is removed from our midst. But the divine radiance which lighted the mountain top will soon descend upon the plain, and illumine the whole race, of which he was such a glorious type. And the unique homage that the nation is paying to his sacred memory inspires us with that optimism which was such an outstanding trait of Sir Asutosh's character.

Sir Asutosh had dedicated some of his best years to the service of his Fellow-citizens as a member of this Corporation. He has elevated our city in the estimation of the rest of India and has acquired for our city a world fame for learning and scholarship. Shall we not do obeisance to his memory in a permanent manner? That is the only way in which we as a Corporation can effectively discharge at least a portion of our debt to the memory of our illustrious fellow-citizen.

Mr. M. M. Haq seconded the resolution which was carried.

The Committee will consist of the following:—The Deputy Mayor, Mr. S. C. Bose, Dr. Narendra Law, Mr. Priyanath Mallik, Mr. C. F. Hooper, Mr. Badridas Goenka, Professor J. R. Banerjee, and Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu.

Mayor's Speech.

Mr. C. R. Das said:—You will allow me to associate myself with the resolutions which you have just passed. Indeed it seems to me that we have honoured ourselves in honouring the memory of this great man. The Corporation of Calcutta would have been a poor institution indeed if it did not honour the greatness of this great citizen of Calcutta. To me the loss is something like a personal loss. Years of association, years of living together in the same neighbourhood made me look upon him as my elder brother. It is difficult for me to make any long speech to-day because I cannot trust myself to do so. But I will say one or two words. It has been said that he was a great lawyer. So indeed he was, but his greatness was greater than the greatness of a mere lawyer. It has been said that he was a great judge. I know he was a great judge, but here again his greatness was greater—far greater than the greatness of merely a great judge. It has been said that he was a great educationist. Undoubtedly he was. He was one of the foremost, and if you count the number of educationists all the world over I doubt whether you can come across a greater educationist than Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. But here again I stand on my original observation—he was far greater than merely a great educationist.

His heart was with the nation. He was a builder. He tried to build this great Indian nation and honour it by his activities and I know many were the plans he formed, of work after his retirement. Death has snatched him away and I do not see before me any other man who can take up the work which he intended to take up. But trust to God there will be some others who will carry on the work which he has left unfinished. One word more about the last resolution which you have just passed. I approve of this committee because I feel that a painting or a picture or the erection of a bust or of a statue cannot commemorate the greatness of this great man. He was a dynamic personality. We want something living, something growing, to commemorate in a fitting manner his greatness—something which will carry with it the message of the struggle of to-day to the fullness of to-morrow.

TRIBUTE BY MOSLEM SCHOLARS.

Warm tributes were paid to the memory of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee at a meeting of Moulvis and Ulemas held on Friday evening under the presidency of Dr. Abdulla Suhrawardy.

Dr. A. Suhrawardy in a moving speech dwelt feelingly at length on the many qualities of head and heart of the great departed, and pointed out how, as a President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, President of the Imperial Library Committee, Chairman of the Board of Higher Studies in Arabic and Persian, etc., Sir Asutosh did which no one had hitherto done for the revival of the study of Islamic learning. He also referred to Sir Asutosh's services in connection with the search and preservation of valuable Arabic and Persian manuscripts, the publication of important works on Islamic History, Law and Theology and his generous patronage of deserving Ulema and Moulvis. The speaker mentioned as instances of Sir Asutosh's undying services to the cause of advancement of learning amongst the Musalmans.

Aga Kasim Shirazi moved the following resolution :

"This Society places on record its sense of irreparable loss by the sudden and untimely death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the greatest Indian of his day and the champion of the advancement and revival of education, culture and learning."

The resolution was seconded by Shaikh Abu Nasr Gilani and supported by Hakim Gauhar Ali, Hakim Safir and Shah Moinuddin.

It was further resolved that a message of condolence be sent to the eldest son of the deceased and other members of the bereaved family. With a vote of thanks to the chair the meeting terminated.

CONDOLENCE MEETING IN LONDON

21, CROMWELL ROAD,
S. W. 7.
5th June, 1924.

To
THE EDITOR, THE CALCUTTA REVIEW, CALCUTTA.

SIR,

Closely following the death of Sir Ashutosh Chowdhury, India has suffered a great loss at the sudden demise of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, one of the greatest and most outstanding personalities of the modern age.

The melancholy news reached as a bolt from the blue on the Indian Students Community in London on the morning of the 27th ultimo and was circulated like wild fire.

A condolence meeting of the Indian students of London was convened at the instance of Mr. A. D. Bonerjee, the Warden of the Indian Students Hostel, at 21, Cromwell Road, on the evening of the 29th.

There was a good attendance, students representing all provinces of India.

At the very outset Mr. Bonerjee read messages from Messrs. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Joint Secretary, Students Department, and H. A. F. Lindsay, the President, House Committee, expressing their regret at the lamentable death of Sir Asutosh and their inability to attend the meeting on account of some previous engagements.

Mr. Nagendra Nath Sen, M.Sc. (Cal.), was voted to the Chair.

He in a short speech enumerated the God-gifted qualities of the great son of India.

The following resolution was moved from the Chair and seconded by Mr. B. K. Das and carried unanimously all standing:

"This meeting of the Indian Students of London assembled at 21, Cromwell Road, records its profound sorrow at the sudden demise of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and expresses its deep sympathy and condolence with the bereaved family."

Several other speakers paid high tributes to the memory of the illustrious Sir Asutosh.

Mr. J. M. Khan of Aligarh moved that a copy of the abovementioned resolution should be sent to Lady Mookerjee and his sons by Cablegram; this was seconded by Mr. S. K. Chatterjee, M.Sc., and carried unanimously.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
S. K. Datta Ray

Baidyabaty Young Men's Association.[1]

Under the auspices of the Association, a condolence meeting was held on Sunday the 1st June, 1924, at the club premises with Babu Behari Lall Banerji, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., in the chair. The proceedings commenced with the election of President who gave a short speech after which Babu Gobinda Pada Biswas read a paper in Bengali giving a life-sketch of Sir Asutosh. Babus Saroj Kumar Chatterji and Narendra Nath Chatterji also spoke on Sir Asutosh's attainments. The following resolution was then moved from the Chair and unanimously adopted, all standing in silence :

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[1] The Library and Free Reading Room attached to the Young Men's Association Baidyabaty remained closed on Monday and Tuesday, the 26th and 27th May, 1924, as a mark of respect to the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

"We, the members of the Young Men's Association and residents of Baidyabaty, in a special meeting convened for this purpose, place on record our deep sense of sorrow and great disappointment at the sudden and lamentable death of revered Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and express our sincere sympathy with the bereaved family and with a view to commemorate his name for ever, to the best of our abilities, in the field of Bengali Literature, for his indefatigable, selfless, and unrivalled lifelong services rendered to our country towards the advancement of learning, we further resolve that the Publishing Fund of the Association be henceforth called by the name of Sir Asutosh Memorial Publishing Fund and that a biography of Sir Asutosh be published as early as possible."

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair proposed by Babu Surendra Nath Mitter.

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE: PORTUGUESE APPRECIATIONS.[1]

A India Portugueza—Goa.

The province of Bengal has just lost in Sir Asutosh Mookerji one of her most eminent savants, who worked indefatigably and passionately for the intellectual progress of the land.

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[1] Extracts from Portuguese Papers, translated by R. C. Maulik, Prof. of St. Joseph's College, Calcutta.

A man of superior calibre, guided by a rare culture and aided by a powerful intellect and an extraordinary force of will, Sir Asutosh attained considerable distinction in his public career; and was selected a Judge of the High Court of Calcutta where he was considered a jurist of indisputable eminence.

Not only in the sphere of law were his intellectual powers felt, but also in the field of education his work was regarded as of inestimable value. He directed all his energies and efforts towards transmuting the University of Calcutta into a real centre of scientific and literary culture. It is no longer a machine for the fabrication of diplomas. For several years he sat at the helm of the University affairs as Vice-Chancellor. He was there not as an ornamental figure-head of ostentation, but as a capable man of stupendous energy working for the amelioration of the University of which he was veritably the soul.

The "India Portuguese" cannot pass unnoticed the death of such an eminent son of Bengal, who invariably evinced a lively interest in all Portuguese intellectual movements.

* * * *

A Provincia—Panjim.

The province of Bengal has just sustained a severe shock at the death of one of her most eminent sons. Endowed with a sublimated culture, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee devoted all his energies to establishing an organization which constituted not only a centre of scientific and literary culture but a powerful protagonist of the fundamental rights of the University of Calcutta, which is one of the most important intellectual centres of India to-day. Sir Asutosh was truly its life and soul. A friend of Portuguese culture, he always took a vivid interest in all intellectual movements of Portugal.

* * * *

O Heraldo—Goa.

Born in the province of Bengal, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee consecrated his life to the noble cause of elevating his country. From his adolescence he employed all the vigour of his cultured mind as well as his immense capacity for work for transforming this oldest University of India from the position of an examining body into a living centre of scientific and literary research under a body of intellectuals of approved worth, who are in a position to-day to affirm with legitimate pride—and without any apprehension of contradiction, that this University is not only one of the most important Universities of India but also of the world.

Thus a patriot should work and fight to the last for his crystallised ideal without acrimonious declamations—without exaggerated optimism and morbid pessimism—without theatrical poses and faint-hearted imbecility. All honour to Sir Asutosh who was the uncompromising champion of new India.

Our Vice-Chancellor

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1924

LORD HALDANE AS A PHILOSOPHER

Viscount Haldane of Cloan, whose eminence as a statesman is universally recognised, is also a great figure in the philosophical world. It is the conviction of many who know the value of his work in philosophy that if he had not taken to politics, he would have been in the very front rank of the world's great thinkers. As it is, it is hard to say whether he is greater as a statesman than as a philosopher or as a philosopher than as a statesman. He is a notable example of men who can gain distinction in more than one sphere.

"I am not by profession a philosopher," says Lord Haldane, but, all the same, in spite of his political pre-occupation, he has been a philosopher all his life. He made his *debut* in philosophy in the early eighties of the last century by editing, jointly with Professor Seth Pringle-Pattison, a volume of essays entitled *Essays in Philosophical Criticism.* It was a sort of manifesto of the younger members of the Neo-Hegelian school then rising into prominence, many of whom have subsequently made their mark in philosophy. Among the contributors are to be found, besides the editors, the names of Bernard Bosanquet, D. G. Ritchie, Prof. Sorley and Sir Henry Jones. The volume was dedicated to T. H. Green and Edward Caird wrote a preface. The second essay in this volume was written jointly by Lord Haldane and his distinguished brother Professor J. S. Haldane. The point of view is thoroughly Hegelian. But soon after the publication of this book, Lord Haldane's faith in Hegelianism as an ontological theory seems to have weakened. In a short paper in *Mind* for October, 1888, he argues that the value of Hegelianism lies in it "merely being a point of view from which to criticise other modes of thought," in pointing out that categories valid in one sphere are not to be indiscriminately extended to other spheres. It is a mistake, he says, to regard it "as ground upon which to place props for speculations in both ontology and philosophy." What is essential in Hegelianism is its "mode of investigating knowledge itself" and not its "erection into a Divine experience" of the synthetic unity of consciousness. In this article, Lord Haldane appreciates only Hegel's criticism of categories and not his conception of the Absolute and praises Professor Seth for having "cut himself adrift from Hegel if by this is meant the ontological developments of Hegel's results."

In his reply, Professor Seth rightly points out that theory of knowledge or criticism of categories is not the whole of philosophy. It is rather a preparation for the properly philosophical question. This question is, what is reality, and unless philosophy attempts to answer the question, it evades its task. It must give some definite account of the universe. The impression left on Professor Seth's mind by Lord Haldane's article was that "he wishes to evade the necessity of taking up any metaphysical position at all. He clearly disclaims for himself the metaphysics of Hegel and Green." It must be admitted that there is much in Lord Haldane's paper to justify this impression.

But Lord Haldane's distrust of Hegel's metaphysical construction did not last long. In his *Pathway to Reality* he returns to his earlier position and definitely accepts Hegel's conception of the Absolute. He truly speaks of Hegel as "the greatest master of speculative philosophy that the world has seen since the days of Aristotle." Imitating Hegel's own words "I am a Lutheran and wish to remain so," Lord Haldane declares, "I am content to say that I am a Hegelian and wish to be called so " (*Pathway to Reality*, Vol. II, p. 85). He does not conceal that " all that is best in these lectures I have either taken or adapted from Hegel." *The Pathway to Reality* is undoubtedly one of the best interpretations of the Hegelian philosophy in the English Language.

In his *Reign of Relativity* Lord Haldane gives us a fresh treatment of the subject matter of his earlier work in the light of the recent discoveries of science, particularly that of Einstein. He regards the theory of Einstein as only an application to a particular subject of the general theory of relativity implied in Hegel's criticism of categories. This is not an after-thought, for in the *Pathway to Reality* the significance of relativity in knowledge is distinctly pointed out. All that he does in the later work is to lay greater stress on this doctrine and to explain in detail some of its applications.

The Hegelian theory which Lord Haldane whole-heartedly accepts is that reality is no other than mind at the highest level of its self-comprehension. It is not something different from the world in which we live, but the self-same world adequately comprehended. "Viewed from a different standpoint and with fuller insight this world may turn out to be but appearance and God the ultimate reality disclosing Himself in that very appearance." (*Pathway to Reality*, Vol. I, p. 17.) Nature, man and God are not different entities but only distinguishable phases of a single reality contemplated from different standpoints. "To me," says Lord Haldane, "it seems that by God we mean and can only mean that which is most real, the ultimate reality into which all else can be resolved, and which cannot itself be resolved into anything beyond; that in terms of which all else can be expressed and which cannot be itself expressed in terms of anything outside itself." (*Ibid*, p. 19.)

Such a view of reality is very different from that of the men of science of the Victorian age who split up nature into two halves, one the genuine objective reality and the other but appearances in the mind. The real world was supposed to consist of an "assemblage of atoms and energy" in "a self-subsisting and uniform system of space and time, with its points and instants independent of the events that occurred at them." The qualities called secondary, which the plain man attributes to things, were regarded as existing only in relation to the mind of the percipient. This attitude, Lord Haldane thinks, is no longer prevalent. "People do not now try to bifurcate nature in the old fashion." It is realised that all the various contents of experience are actually there in the world as its distinguishable aspects. If reality has mechanical features, it no less has the features with which biology deals. And it is mind as much as life. "Separation in standpoint, or in order and level in knowledge, is thus tending to supersede the notion of separation in existence."

This changed outlook, Lord Haldane thinks, is largely due to the Kantian criticism. The essence of Kant's achievement is to show that meaning cannot be separated from experience. "The mind found as there in nature what was of its own character and content, in objective form." Without being intelligible nothing can be real. The error of Kant was to "lay [Knowledge] out on the dissecting table for dismemberment," to break it up into factors wrongly supposed to be independent. When this error is corrected, it is seen that "Reality lies in the foundational character of knowledge and in the distinction between perceiver and perceived, knower and known, as being distinctions falling inside the entirety of that foundational character, in as much as they are made by and within knowledge itself" (*Reign of Relativity*, p. 27). Do what we may, we cannot go behind knowledge itself.

Although reality is one, it may be viewed for different purposes from different standpoints. The mathematician, for example, fixes his attention upon the most general relations of things in time and space and abstracts from all other qualities which they possess. In this way he is enabled to accomplish the special purpose he has in view. Similarly, the physicist ignores everything except atoms and their movements and works with such conceptions as causality and conservation of energy. This does not mean that things are nothing more than matter and motion to which everything else is to be reduced. From the biologist's point of view, life as a self-conserving whole in which the parts co-operate for the fulfilment of an end is as real as the aspects of nature with which the physicist deals. The conceptions or categories with which the sciences work in their respective spheres are not to be hypostatised into independent entities, but are to be regarded as the stages through which the mind passes in the process of its self-comprehension. The conception which is valid at one level of thought is not so at another. The varying outlooks do not conflict because they belong to different planes of intelligence. The great mistake to be avoided in interpreting the world is that of letting some of its aspects dominate and even negative the other aspects, of supposing that "what is in truth only a mere aspect of reality is the manifestation of its exclusive and ultimate nature."

With this principle of relativity philosophy has always been more or less familiar. It has recently been brought into prominence by science. "The researches of Einstein," says Lord Haldane, "have given a fresh importance to the principle of relativity." But the theory of Einstein is only a special application of the general principle. In the widest sense relativity means that reality has distinguishable degrees or grades for the interpretation of which conceptions of different kinds are needed. The categories which express the nature of reality from one point of view fail to do so from another. We must, therefore, guard against the tendency "to slip inconsiderately from the terms of one order of thought which is appropriate to the facts which are actual into the terms of a different order which is not so appropriate." The various levels of thought are relative to the corresponding levels of reality. In distinguishing these levels we do not distinguish independent entities of different kinds but only special phases of one and the same reality. Mechanism, for example, is not one thing, life another and mind another still: they are but aspects which reality presents from different standpoints.

"Knowledge," says Lord Haldane, "everywhere enters into reality with transforming power." Outside knowledge nothing is. "To be known in some form is the only way of being real." This truth is concealed from us by the view which the immediate appearance of things suggests that the materials of knowledge are provided by the sensations which objects external to our organism produce in the mind by acting upon it through the organs of sense. Concepts come to be regarded as the outcome of mere subjective reflection indifferently applicable *ab extra* to a variety of particulars. But "the reality of a world of space and time can only be stated in terms of concepts." On reflection, "nature turns out to have been permeated by the activity of reflection." Knowledge is foundational. Within it fall all the distinctions we make, including the distinction between the organism and its environment. But "Knowledge discloses itself as of degrees and at levels which are determined by the character of the concepts it employs. But these degrees and levels imply each other. They are not distinct entities apart. They are all of them required for the interpretation of the full character of reality." (*Reign of Relativity*, p. 124.) The principle of relativity means that the distinguishable orders in knowledge "imply, as determining their meanings, conceptions of characters logically diverse like those of mechanism, of life, of instinct and of conscious intelligence." The validity of each conception is limited to the particular grade of reality to which it is appropriate. Truth, therefore, is more than the fragmentary view of the universe which is all that we can get within the domain of a particular science. It "must imply the whole and nothing short of the whole, whether the whole be actually and fully attainable by the human mind or not." Ideally, it lies in the exhibition of the universe as "embodying in a self-completing entirety a plurality of orders in existence as well as in knowledge of that existence."

Lord Haldane argues that what stands in the way of our realising that knowledge is the ultimate reality is the notion that it is the property of the finite mind which is supposed to be a kind of thing. Over against this thing the physical world appears to stand in its hard and fastness and knowledge seems to be a process set up in the mind by its influence. But mind is not a thing at all. It is the subject for which alone the objective world can exist. For the finite purposes of our everyday life, it is no doubt legitimate to distinguish the particular selves from one another and from the world. "Unless I, by an abstraction, which, for the purposes of social intercourse, is essential, looked upon myself as a thing with a particular mind and history attached to it, as a being standing in social relationships, it would be impossible for me to conduct any conversation with you or to live in a common social world" (*Pathway to Reality*, Vol. II, p. 102). But from the highest point of view the distinction between finite selves is only relative. The body with which the finite mind is connected is continuous with its environment. Between the two no rigid distinction can be drawn. But mind and body are not two different things arbitrarily conjoined. The former is the latter "taken at the higher degree of its reality." Between one mind and another, therefore, there can be no impassable gulf. It is by their feelings, which in their own nature are particular and incommunicable, that minds are distinguished from one another. Feelings have their setting in thought. Apart from thought they do not exist. The universal forms of thought are the framework of experience and constitute the element of identity in individual selves. If men were sentient beings only they would be completely cut off from one another like the monads of Leibnitz. "It is only when the level of thought is reached that we can have identity in difference." The varying experiences of men correspond to one another because of the identical thought-forms which lie at their basis.

Experience, Lord Haldane maintains, has always the character of a whole. But it is a whole "conditioned and limited by a specially important fact, that I am the centre in which this experience has its focus, and from which it also, as it were, radiates. And I notice at once that the range and activity of my mind in this experience radiate far beyond what is in contact with me or even close to my living body. My experience is always in course of letting itself be enlarged by the thinking activity of the self." (*Reign of Relativity*, p. 148.) This shows that the conception of mind as a finite thing is not ultimate. We are forced to pass beyond it to the view that "it is a whole containing within itself the I who knows and the entire field of knowledge, with the conceptual and sentient aspects distinguished within it through its own abstractions." (*Ibid*, p. 155.)

An object-world not known to mind has no meaning and what has no meaning has no existence. This seems to be an incredible doctrine because the self is uncritically taken to be a mere thing in time and space. "The irrelevant and unmeaning metaphors which we carry with us as a burden on our backs" mislead us. It is not seen that presence to mind is the essential condition on which the existence of things depends. "Subject and object are undivorcable." As finite embodied beings selves are, of course, objects having their places within nature, but at a higher level, they are the subject for which the objective world exists. Within the entirety of knowledge its various grades must be carefully distinguished. A finite self, in one point of view, is a thing distinguished from other things. As such it is capable of being interpreted by means of the categories which the physicist and the chemist employ. But it is more than a thing. As a living organism it belongs to a higher order in knowledge and reality and its nature is disclosed only when it is conceived as "a whole that gives their meaning to parts, each of which performs a function in that whole, and each of which has itself no life except as a living member of the whole for which it functions." From the biological point of view, however, self-consciousness is a mystery. We cannot understand it unless we rise to a still higher level of thought and find in it the principle of unity of all things. In its proper nature it is infinite and seems to be finite because of the obstacles to its expression arising from its connection with an animal organism in man. The self thus turns out to be the entirety of knowledge and its adequate comprehension involves the survey of it from "points of view which differ in their logical character, and belong to different orders in knowledge, no one of which is reducible to the other, however much it may require its presence." (*Ibid*, p. 179.) The various aspects must be co-present in a single comprehensive view. As foundational, knowledge includes all things within itself and there is nothing beyond it in terms of which it can be described. "Its conception is an ultimate one within which both subject and object fall."

We thus see that mind or self-consciousness is not a thing in time and space, nor a subject with an object of a foreign nature. It is the ultimate unity self-distinguished into subject and object. As essentially related to the subject, the object-world is on one side a system of universals. But the universal apart from the particular is an abstraction. "You cannot deduce the universe out of the universals of thought any more than you can divide or divorce thought from its object or from the particulars of sense." In the actual which is always individual, the universal and the particular are inseparably united as its moments. The distinctions between the self and the not-self, the universal and the particular arise within the inclusive whole of knowledge.

"The picture of a pure self-consciousness," says Lord Haldane, "regarding things from the highest standpoint, finding itself in its objects and no longer troubled by any distinction between the object-world and itself, because it has got rid of all the abstractions of lower standpoints, such a picture we cannot present to ourselves, because we are compelled to view the universe from the standpoint of the particular individual. But by reflection we may get towards the grasp of the concrete truth that this is the final conception of the self, the real foundation and meaning of experience, and that it is really actualised in experience" (*Pathway to Reality*, Vol. I, p. 112).

Lord Haldane contends that nature seems to be a self-contained entity independent of mind only from the point of view of a self "subject to the physical limitations of the organism." The relative validity of this conception is not to be denied. At the level of thought occupied by us as finite human beings, nature is independent of us and irreducible to mere ideas of the mind. In so far as it lays stress on this truth the position of realism is sound. But the standpoint from which mind is set in opposition to the world is not final. It arises from the limitation which thought imposes upon itself. But thought "can spread its wings and fly beyond the limits of what appears immediately," reaching the summit from which it is seen that "the completed entirety within which falls all that is and was and will be, not less than the mind for which it is there, is the whole for thought short of which thinking cannot arrest its conception" (*Reign of Relativity*, p. 196). That which lies at the basis of reality cannot be treated as a particular fact comprised within it. To be discursive and relational is not, as Mr. Bradley supposes, the whole nature of thought. It takes the relational form in order to accomplish limited purposes, but it has the power to rise above its self-limitation. If it distinguishes and relates, it also transcends the distinctions which it sets up. At its highest level it is the all-embracing experience of which feeling and will are aspects.

Lord Haldane is unwearied in urging that the nature of reality is not understood unless it is viewed from many standpoints. These standpoints "are moulded by the categories the mind in its freedom of purpose selects, and they give rise to degrees of levels in knowledge and reality which constitute a hierarchy within the all-embracing fact of mind" (*The Philosophy of Humanism*, pp. 62-63). "Most of the confusion," he says, "which has characterised the history of reflection has been due to the assumption that a particular set of universals would prove sufficient for the description of objects differently characterised in facts disclosed in nature. The inquirer has again and again pursued in consequence a path which has led him away from these facts" (*Ibid*, p. 300).

Reality, as interpreted by the categories of a particular standpoint, is not the whole but only an abstraction from the whole made for a specific purpose. The various interpretations from different standpoints can be arranged in an ascending scale in which "the higher stands to the lower at once as that in comparison with which the lower is less perfect because more abstract, and also as the more concrete individuality within the limits and range of which the lower falls." Ultimately, reality discloses itself as the all-inclusive mind within which the distinction of subject and object arises. What the general principle of relativity teaches us is that because a particular view of the universe is correct in its own place, we are not justified in concluding that every other view is false. "Each may be adequate in the order in experience with which for the time being we are concerned, and for each view what appears for the moment to constitute truth and reality may be accurately described in terms of the conceptions appropriate to the standpoint which we are occupying." In the constitution of the actual all of these conceptions are co-present.

Lord Haldane does not think that idealism, as he conceives it, has any reason to fear the criticisms of new realism. Indeed it has much in common with the latter doctrine. The real quarrel of new realism is with subjective idealism or mentalism, the way to which was opened up by Locke's new way of ideas. Locke treated knowledge as "an instrument separable from knower and known alike and capable of being laid on a table and pulled to pieces." He held that the mind acquires knowledge of things through the medium of ideas existing apart from them. Some of these ideas were supposed to be like and others unlike the actual qualities of things. Berkeley denied the possibility of separating the primary from the secondary qualities and argued that things cannot be other than their ideas. The ideas, he maintained, are the things. But he continued to believe in the reality of mind as substance and as the support of ideas. Hume carried Berkeley's principles to their logical conclusion and contended that we can have no idea of substance, mental or material. Besides impressions and ideas nothing can be proved to exist. Thus he conducted philosophy "down a slippery slope to a precipice." It was reserved for Reid to expose the fallacy of Locke. He denied the theory of representative perception and stoutly maintained that what is perceived is not an idea but a thing In perception the mind is face to face with an objective fact. Between the perceived object and the perceiving mind no idea intervenes. In this he clearly anticipated the new realists, who are now busy returning to objects the qualities of which the subjective idealists robbed them so unjustly. And the dues of things are being returned to them with handsome interest. The new realists are all in favour of investing them with universal relations. Not only colour, sound and the other so-called secondary qualities, but universals also, including ends and the relation of an organic whole to its parts, we are told, belong to things. But a distinction is still maintained between mind and non-mental realities and the function of the former is limited to passive awareness. But, as Lord Haldane asks very pertinently, "if the categories of life are as much part of a non-mental world as are those of mechanism, why are not the categories of morals and religion and beauty also part of it." He truly observes that "if the object-world is to swallow down the entire subject-world then there is no longer any need for distinguishing between non-mental and mental, or between matter and mind." If the new realists went further along the path pursued by them and had the courage to transfer to the side of things not only secondary qualities and universal relations but mind itself, they would see that "mind is no isolated thing, it is no attribute or property of a thing." It is the self-contained whole within which fall all distinctions made by thought, including the distinction between mind itself and the world of which it is conscious. The thought of a particular individual does not, of course, make things but "that is very different from saying that thought is alien to the constitution of the universe and does not in the multitudinous phases in which we feel and know enter into the very essence of the real universe."

Lord Haldane has shown how universal is the sway of the principle of relativity; but he does not seem to have bestowed thought on one possible application of this principle. The relativity of knowledge not only means that the self-comprehension of reality involves its interpretation from different levels of thought, but also that it as subject knows itself as object in ways as various as the standpoints provided by particular objects. For, each of these objects is, at the highest level, the unity of mind in which the whole world is focussed and represented. If even an organism is a unity belonging equally to its parts, far more so is mind. It is not apart from the objects presented to it but is in each of them, completely and indivisibly, as its ideality. In its own other it is itself. In no other way can we think of the relation of the experienced world to mind. What is in all things as their ideal principle of unity is realised *as a complete whole* in every one of them. To deny this is to say either that mind is present generally in all things but not particularly in any of them, or that it is distinct from them and is therefore, like them, only a numerical unity, or that they are merely its transient modes. None of these alternatives, as the idealistic argument shows, is admissible. If, therefore, mind is to be regarded as the unity that goes out to the differences of objects, it must be conceived as immanent in each single object, whole and undivided, although not limited to it. It is present everywhere in its fulness. This means that what at the lowest level is a thing in time and space, is, at the highest, a view-point from which the whole universe is surveyed and interpreted. The universe is real only as it is interpreted and it is interpreted from standpoints as varied and numerous as its constituent objects. The difference of interpretation is not due to the difference of degrees or levels in reality only, but also to the difference of the points of view even at the highest level. And the mind that interprets is not separable from the standpoint from which the interpretation is made. The universal mind, therefore, is not an abstract unity nor a unity differentiated into mere things, but a unity, a confluence of many minds which, at a lower level, are objective entities, and its knowledge of the universe is a synopsis of the interpretations of the universe from an infinite number of view-points.

"Knowledge," Lord Haldane points out, "is more than merely theoretical. It not only issues in action but it *is* action." As rational beings men are never satisfied with the world as they find it; they seek to mould and fashion it in conformity with their ideal. The values selected by them are no more dependent on their arbitrary will than are the objects known by them the products of their cognitive activity. Both in his knowledge and in his purposive activities, the individual is raised above his mere particularity. "It is the universal that is active in individual form and is therefore always dynamic as pointing beyond itself." The good is, no doubt, of the individual, but the nature of the activity determined by the idea of it cannot be understood apart from something of a higher degree of reality than "the isolated and fragmentary volition of the individual, looked at in his aspect of one organism among a numerical multitude." Beneath the difference of the ends of individuals, there is identity, and it is this identity that keeps them together and finds expression in the laws, institutions and customs by which their conduct is regulated. Man's "fitness to be a member of society is that he is no isolated particle, but a person living in relation to his fellow human beings, and permeated by ends held in common with them by which, however little consciously, his conduct is influenced at every turn. It is by the fulness of the life of the whole as shown in his activity that he is judged, and his individuality becomes larger and not smaller by his acceptance of the duties he owes to those around him" (*Ibid*, p. 354). There is a general will because men are not exclusive and self-contained beings. It is not "an outside compelling power," nor a mere sum of particular wills but "just our own wills at their social level." Apart from our own wills the general will has no being. It is outwardly embodied in the institutions of society and the state.

Lord Haldane regards the general will as the source of the sovereignty of the state, but he does not think that it is an easy task to ascertain it. In the result of a general election public opinion may seem to find expression, but the actual fact may be quite different. It is often very difficult to say exactly what has been decided at an election. "One of the most delicate and difficult tasks confided to a newly elected Ministry is to determine what mandate has really been given. Not only may that mandate be really different from what it appeared to be from the language at the time employed by those who gave it, but it may be undergoing rapid and silent modification" (*Reign of Relativity*, p. 337). This is unquestionably true, but then why speak of a mandate being given at all? The mandate theory is not an orthodox theory in British politics. Until quite recently, it was an unheard of thing, and until mob-rule is established it cannot be a reality. Lord Haldane truly observes that "it is not enough to say that in the ballot boxes a numerical majority for a particular plan was found. For it may have become obvious that these votes did not represent a clear or enduring state of mind." The electors, he justly thinks, " may have felt the points at issue to be too obscure and have meant that the Ministers in effect chosen should decide for them what modifications of existing decisions and what fresh and further decisions might be required." The essential function of the true statesman is to interpret the general will. "That will may even be to devolve to him the duty of taking the initiative and of acting for his clients freely, as a man of courage and high intelligence should act and he may have been chosen more on the ground of faith in his possession of these qualities than in order that he might take some specific action which the nation feels that it has not adequately thought out. Democracy, even in its most complete and thorough going form, may imply all this.' (*Ibid*, p. 368.) But is not this a fancy-picture of democracy ? Is it the thing that we know in actual working in various countries ? Between the statesman as Lord Haldane conceives him and the demagogic politician practised in the art of vote-catching, is there not a world of difference ? What Lord Haldane says about the duties of ministers is very true, but it is a condemnation of the existing forms of democratic government and a powerful plea for a genuine aristocracy or government by the wisest and best. So at least it seems to some of his readers. The democratic spirit has done great good to the world by breaking down the artificial barriers between man and man. It is removing "the gaps in mental life that exist to-day." After a lapse of two thousand years, it is at last making the Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of man a really guiding principle in life. But in so far as it has ushered in the kind of government under which the thoughtful and worthy few are liable to be at the mercy of the thoughtless many, the capable and enterprising at the mercy of the never-do-well and lazy, the kind of government which, in its helpless dependence on the fickle will of a short-sighted multitude, is unable to do its first duty of governing properly, it has effected a change the full consequences of which it is not yet possible to calculate. Democracy, as we know it to-day, is no more a success than the forms of government it has supplanted. A constitution in which those who should be the representatives of the people interpreting their real will are merely their delegates pledge-bound to carry out their mandates is as indefensible as irresponsible autocracy. If civilisation is to endure, the human spirit must be equal to the task of evolving a type of government which shall eschew the errors of democracy while satisfying its demand for equal oportunities for all. The eagerness of impatient idealists or rather visionaries to introduce it everywhere in the world needs to be checked. As the support of public opinion is essential to the existence and well-being of a state, representative government is, no doubt, the ideal, but representative government does not necessarily mean democracy.

The spirit of man that creates the fabric of the state also rises above its limitations. In virtue of their common human nature, men and women, however great their national differences may be, are capable of developing a common ideal. The state, therefore, can never be the final embodiment of the mind of a people. "The world is becoming more and more international. States are not isolated units. They continue to subsist only through relations with other states, relations which tend to multiply in volume as well as intensity and which show no prospect of being superseded." (*Ibid*, p. 375.) As the citizens of a state are related to oneanother, so are the sovereign states of the world, although there is no universal empire to which they are subordinated. The need for an international bond of union finds expression, Lord Haldane thinks, in the desire for a league of nations. He regards its foundation as a hopeful sign of the times, although its growth depends upon the amount of the general goodwill it can secure. His attitude towards it is neither that of the pessimist who thinks that no good can ever come from it, nor that of the fanatic who imagines that it has brought in the millennium. He takes a hopeful view of its future because he thinks that "there are already some indications that higher than merely national purposes are moving mankind and that it is struggling to express them in institutions that may in the end prove to have dominating influence."

Passing on to the discussion of the relation of man to God, Lord Haldane begins by pointing out that God cannot be a thing or substance. A thing is limited and distinguished from other things, which God is not. Nor is he a transcendent being beyond the reach of knowledge. He is rightly conceived as subject provided that we do not regard the object as foreign to it. God "must not stand for less than entirety, and such an entirety must be that within which all distinctions and resulting relations can fall." The object of the Divine mind must be within itself. "It must find the necessary distinction from itself in an other that is just itself. The mind of God must have in its other itself, and must recognise in that other just Himself in the form of otherness" (*Pathway* *to Reality*, Vol. II, p. 156). Lord Haldane agrees with Hegel in thinking that the Christian doctrine of the Trinity gives expression to this idea in a symbolical form. Mind in itself is the Father, mind "gone into otherness, hetereity, finite mind" is the Son and the Holy Spirit is the fulness of self-consciousness in which the opposition of subject and object is reconciled. Such a conception is fundamentally opposed to the deistic view that God is other than the world. "It is just in the world that is here and now when fully comprehended and thought out that we shall find God, and in finding God shall find the reality of that world in Him" (*Pathway to Reality*, Vol. I, p. 16).

"Man and God," says Lord Haldane, "are not numerically distinct subjects in knowledge. They are the one foundational mind, disclosing itself in different degrees or logical stages in the progress of reality but as identical throughout divergences in form. It is the identity that underlies the correspondence of our thoughts that relates man to his fellow man. It is the same identity in difference that relates him to God" (*Reign of Relativity*, p. 398). The human mind, hampered by the organic conditions on which it depends, is unable to comprehend the nature of the Divine life as lived by God. It cannot envisage things from the Divine point of view. But by reflection it can transcend its limitations and learn that "God is present in us and it is in God that our fully developed reality must centre."

"There is," Lord Haldane tells us, "only a single actual universe, the universe which in one abstract aspect is thought in another, nature, in its concrete, individual, living actuality, mind. This same actuality presents to us its different aspects according to the plane of intelligence at which we approach it. With the categories we employ its degrees of appearance vary and arrange themselves. These degrees of appearance, degrees not of substance but of comprehension, give us the differing and changing aspects of the world as it seems, and, it may be, the justification for our faith in their several titles to places in reality" (*Pathway to Reality*, Vol. I, p. 114).

Lord Haldane has done well to emphasise that there is only one reality and that beyond it there is nothing. Beyond reality is a meaningless expression. Nature and spirit are not two entities antithetical to each other. It is not in any transcendent region that the spiritual is to be found. The spiritual world is the natural world at a higher level of interpretation. What seems to be purely physical at first sight is, viewed from within, the revelation of mind. But because spirit cannot be divorced from matter, it does not follow that it is completely realised in what we call the material world. Of the objective expression of the Absolute mind, our present abode may form only a very insignificant part. The error of medieval thought was to suppose that the distinction between this world and any other possible world beyond it is the distinction of the material and the spiritual. Against this view idealism rightly urges that the same reality is at one plane of thought matter and at another mind. Mind includes the object-world within itself. But the object-world may consist not only of the material universe but also of an unseen universe continuous with it. There is no reason to suppose that because mind is revealed in nature, it is revealed in nature only and that there can be no sphere of existence other than the one in which we at present find ourselves. In his recoil against medieval dualism, Hegel went to the opposite extreme of equating the object of God's knowledge with nature and his followers have endorsed this error. But may it not be that medieval thought, wrong in one way, was right in another? It was wrong in supposing that the spiritual world is beyond this world. The spiritual is not somewhere far away; it is here and now as the sustaining principle of everything that is. But, nevertheless, medievalism may have been in the right in divining that the present sensible world is not all and that beyond it there are other worlds. Neither science nor philosophy has anything to say against this view. Some scientific men at any rate distinctly favour it. Sir Oliver Lodge, for example, speaks of the ether as "something more fundamental than matter, something of which matter is only a sensuous modification" and suggests that it may be the stuff of which worlds unknown to us are made (*Nineteenth Century and After, January, 1924*). All that can justly be urged is that all these worlds must be regarded as elements of a single objective system in which the Absolute mind is revealed. Our conception of reality has been deepened by the idealistic interpretation of it. It will be broadened if we think that its objective side is not co-extensive with the sensible world only.

HIRALAL HALDAR

THE FLOWER OF RAJASTHAN

ACT V; SCENE I.

[*Scene.* A room in the palace at Oodipur. The Rana, seated, discovered with Ajit.]

Rana Bheem—

Hath the Amir been fitly entertained
Since his auspicious coming to our halls
And is he rested from his journeying ?

Ajit—

Ev'n so, your Majesty, and waits without,
Craving immediate audience.

Bheem—

We are ready.
None is more welcome than the worthy Khan
After the prince of Jeypur, nor hath meed
Of greater honour than his friend in arms.

(*Ajit retires, returning with the Amir Khan. The Rana rises and salutes him.*)

Thy coming is in season, Amir Khan;
Right glad are we to find the brave array
Of glittering spears, by anxious watchmen scanned
From the high towers of Oodipur since dawn,
Are ranged behind the banners of a friend.
Thou comest like a conqueror. We infer
The Lion of the World hath torn his foes,
And will be here anon to claim his bride.

Amir Khan—

Surely, divine one, only as a friend
Appears thy servant in the presence here,
And if a conqueror, only thus to lay
The palm of victory at thy royal feet.

Bheem—

May Krishna grant the olive branch as well
To our long tried and trodden motherland.
Say, is the victory final and complete ?

Amir Khan—

On bended knee the vanquish'd foe forswore
His claim to war's fair wager.

Bheem—

Ram be praised !
Our daughter is delivered.

Amir Khan—

She is saved
If thou deliver her to him whose right
The issue hath confirmed to make her his.

Bheem—

Such hath long been our pleasure. We but wait
The Prince of Amber to make fast the bond
'Twixt Oodipur and Amber, him and her.

Amir Khan—

The weakling must be coupled with the strong
Or both will fall together.

Bheem—

And who, pray,
Is stronger than the Lion of the World ?

Amir Khan—

No longer would I keep thee in the dark,
O King of Mewar. Jagat Singh hath failed :
Jeypur is fallen—Sowae Sing is slain—
And Maun victorious rides on Oodipur
To seize his prize, the Flower of Rajasthan.

Bheem—

Nay, 'tis unseemly to proclaim false news
E'en in a jest, and Mewar's Majesty
Is set too high to play with, Amir Khan.

Amir Khan—

Allah avoid me such irreverence,
And Iblis claim me, if my words be false !

Bheem—

Then what a tale is this ! What lips are those
That lightly tell her doom to Oodipur,
To Mewar's house its sentence ? Nay, Mir Khan,
Were the Pambasi's son victorious, thou
Thyself hadst better ne'er have looked on day
Since thou wert of us all his bitterest foe,
Sworn to the cause of Amber.

Amir Khan—

Nay, O King,
Prince Maun of Marwar owes to none but me
His triumph over Amber.

Bheem—

Then thou art
Of all men living the most villainous,
The falsest of all traitors.

Amir Khan—

Be it so.
Natheless I come to counsel thee, O King,
For Mewar's safety.

Bheem—

What avails it now?

Amir Khan—

All, O divine one. There's an easy way.
Maun is triumphant. Wed to Maun thy child.

Bheem—

Ah, that! An easy way thou callest it!
Then all this life-blood would have flowed in vain,
And from the ground be crying *Shame* on me.
For base surrender of the very right
Our noblest poured it out to vindicate.
Easy? It well might easy be for those
Who had no soul thereby to cast away.
A little mound a step's enough to climb,
A tiny rill a single stride can cross,
If one is lettered with the fame of kings,
And honour's silver through the other shines,
Lo, this stands up a frowning mountain height,
And that a mighty torrent rushes by,
So neither of them can be climb'd or crost.

Amir Khan—

Is it less hard, then, to give o'er thy land
To waste and ruin, and thy child to death?

Bheem—

What horror news is this that hangs o'er head?

Amir Khan—

Give Maun his will, he is thy sworn ally;
Deny him—all is lost, divinity—
Thy territory laid waste with fire and sword,
Its women ravished and its children slain.

Bheem—

Is there no other way—no other way?

Amir Khan—

There is, divine one, but of all the three
It is most grievous. Hide it not from me.

Bheem—

Amir Khan—

Let the king learn it from his minister,
And unto Ajit lend his royal ear.

Ajit (salaaming low to Bheem)—

O thou, exalted o'er the crowns of Hind,
Son of Noshirwan—unto whom is due
All reverence as the Sovereign of us all;
Now on our bleeding race and ruined homes
The pity of thy paternal heart be shed.
Grant us the boon which can alone avert
Lustres of bloodshed from our stricken land,
The sacrifices of one exalted life
To save the lives of thousands—and remove
The all too lovely cause of loveless strife,
To stay this bloodshed and to end this war.

Bheem—

Thy speech is darkness. Was not Maun but now
Declared the victor and the fight forsworn?

Ajit—

Oaths are no bond when a princess's eyes
Lure men to combat. All is fair, they say,
In love and war, and here are both combined.
Nor can the fires of war be quenched until
The light that kindles be extinguishéd,
Until those maddening eyes be closed in death.
Krishna Kumari must wed, or die.

Bheem—

O cruel fate that on my snow-crowned head
Heaps grief on grief and unto shame adds shame!
What boots the empty title of a king
Above all other princes of the land,
If his right arm be powerless to protest
All that his heart holds dear, ay, dearer far
Than this frayed end of life which in her stead
Were given how gladly up for sacrifice!
But, Krishna, how can I surrender thee?

Amir Khan—

Plead with her, Rana, that she marry Maun.

Rana—

She shall decide—her father will be dumb.
Now leave us to our anguish, Amir Khan.
Anon the issue shall be known to thee.

Amir Khan—

I shall await it with anxiety
For Mewar's welfare and the peace of Hind.

[*Exit.*]

Bheem—

Send for the princess; we will see her here
And we would be alone.

[*Exit Ajit*]

So they would lay
The pride of Mewar in the dust, and force
Our child to wedlock more detestable
A hundred-fold than ever 't was before
The blood of heroes reddened all our plains
In hate of this alliance. What's to do?
Mewar is at their mercy. O my child!

(*Buries his face in his hands; enter Krishna Kumari.*)

Krishna—

Thou calledst me, my father. Why thus sadly
Is thy face hidden, while the trickling tears
Steal through thy fingers like a tide that makes
A way beyond the barriers men have made.
What is amiss, my father?

Bheem—

Nay, my child,
That dare I hardly tell thee.

Krishna—

'Tis not thy wont thy daughter to deny.
Why weepest thou?

Bheem—

I weep for Mewar's shame.

Krishna—

What shame, my father?

Rana—

That she needs must dance
To Marwar's piping and surrender thee.

Krishna—

What? Hath not Amber put his foes to rout?

Bheem—

Nay, Maun hath triumphed; Sowae Singh is slain;
The Khan turned traitor. Jagat Singh hath fled.

Krishna—

O cruel fate! and what remains for me?

Bheem—

Wed Maun or die—So spake the Amir Khan.

Krishna—

The choice is easy; I would rather die.
Yet might not Mewar strike a blow to save
Krishna Kumari from the dagger's point?

Bheem—

'T would mean, my child, the fall of Oodipur.
Wilt thou not wed with Marwar?

Krishna—

That were shame.
Shame to thy crown, to Mewar and to me.

Bheem—

Then thou wilt die?

Krishna—

For Mewar's sake and thine.
Life loses sweetness and is little loss,
Bereft of Jagat.

Bheem—

Thou hast loved, my child,
Not the real Jagat but thy dream of him.

Krishna—

Yet once that dream be lost, let life depart.
No shame shall be on Mewar. I will die.

'T is but an end of sorrows and a rest
From longing unfulfilled and hope deferred.
From birth we women-folk are set apart
For travail and the pain of sacrifice.
Who dies the earliest hath escaped the most,
And from the penal cycle of her lives
Writes one triumphant off at easy cost.
This life in sacrifice attains its end
Fulfilling thus its purpose; not that mine
Hath been without its sweetness and its joy.
Heaven gave me much that human hearts desire,
It gave me rank and fortune: and it gave.
Alas, it gave me beauty, which hath been
The cause of all this anguish in the world.
It gave me, father, better things than these:
An eye to see the loveliness of Earth
A heart to love the tiniest flower that blows,
The smallest bird that sings its note of praise
It gave me more, it gave me home and thee,
Most tender, best of fathers. Must I die?
I thank the Gods that I have lived so long.
Weep not my father. Gladly I return
The life thou gavest, gladly I pour forth
To the last drop the blood I drew from thee,
For Mewar and the peace of Rajasthan.
Lo, now I bare my bosom. Death I fear not,
Nor yet the blow that deals it, if it be
The hand I love that strikes me, Wherefore, sire,
Be thou as fearless to deliver death
As I am to receive it with a smile.

Bheem—

Krishna Kumari, dearer far than life
To thine unhappy father, thou art shown
A worthy daughter of our royal line,

Worthy as she who donned the saffron robe
And, lance in hand, died fighting at Cheetore.
The sacrifice thou offerest of thy life
Is made for Mewar and Rajwarra's peace,
And I may not deny thee. Yet, my child,
Were mine the hand that drove the glittering steel
The blow that spilled thy life would break my heart.

(*Re-enter Amir Khan.*)

Amir Khan—

Your pardon, Majesty. I fain would know
The answer Mewar gives us.

Krishna—

It is here,
Writ on my naked bosom. I will die,
Let fall the death-blow when and how it may.

Act V; Scene 2.

[*Scene.* The same as in Act I, Scene 1. Now soldiers line the steps, and there is no crowd. Amir Khan discovered.]

Amir Khan—

Be resolute, unyielding, O Mir Khan.
After so many labours undergone,
So many blows exchanged, such hardship borne,
'T were ill to falter at the stroke that ends
These ruthless wars for ever; nay, to shrink
From this last sword-thrust at their root and source
Because the maid is fair to look upon
With beauty deadly to a world of men
Were of our race unworthy, and a shame
On our devotion to the mother-land.

Ajit delays—he should be back ere this
Bearing the signed decree that Krishna die
For Mewar's safety and the peace of Hind.
Then be her blood on Mewar not on me!

(*Enter Seonath, travel-stained.*)

Who goes there?

Seonath—

Seonath of Koochaman,
Comrade-in-arms of Marwar, and thy friend
So long as thou art loyal, O Mir Khan,
And stainest not the spotless shield of Maun
With foul, abhorréd murder.

Amir Khan—

Thou art bold
To one whose arm hath wrought him victory.

Seonath—

Would it had been in open field alone,
Won by an honest sword, without the aid
Of the assassin's dagger in a tent.

Amir Khan—

These are the vapouring of jealousy
Else should they cost thee dear. A truce to them!
We wait the message that thou bringest us.

Seonath—

Marwar salutes thee, but regrets there lies
Work on his hands too heavy to admit
Of meeting thee at Mewar. Jagat Singh
Makes cause again with Sindhia to renew
The contest for the prize of victory.

Amir Khan—

As I foretold. This comes of clemency.
'Tis time indeed that fair and troublous flower
Were severed from the stem. Ah! Ajit comes.

(*Ajit enters, descending the steps, bearing a parchment in his hand.*)

Amir Khan—

Is all well, Brahmin?

Ajit—

Were it otherwise,
'T would not be Ajit who had wrought thy hest.

Amir Khan—

The Rana, then, hath signed it?

Ajit—

It is here,
The full deed of surrender, which consigns
His only child unto the sacrifice
To save the lives of many, and to preserve
The city of Oodipur from fire and sword,
And bring in peace again to Rajasthan.
Yet hath it pleased the Rana to append
One reservation.

Amir Khan—

Let us hear it, then.

Ajit—

Though the princess henceforth unguarded go
As fits one given o'er to sacrifice,
The Rana will not raise his hand against her,
Nor bid another strike the fateful blow.
Let those who summon her to sacrifice
Appoint the priest to slay her—so he said.

Amir Khan—

So we must find her executioner.
That should not be so hard in Rajasthan
Where thousands curse her as their country's bane.
To slay her were no crime; it were an act
Worthy a patriot; it should reap its harvest
Of gratitude from the remotest bounds
Of our war-wasted country. On whom devolves
This service, let him hold it honour high
Thus to be named the saviour of his land.
Already, Seonath of Koochaman,
Thy services in war are famed abroad.
Add this, of all the greatest, to the rest.
So would we shew thee favour.

Seonath—

Great Amir,
Thy servant is by such consideration
And notice of his services abased.
Whate'er they be, he had not deemed them such
As should be crowned by such a villainy,
To make his name the vilest on the Earth,
His memory most detested. Nay, Mir Khan,
I would not rob thee of this infamy,
Lest in thy rivalry with Iblis thou
Shouldst at the last be only second best,
And he, thy lord, the Prince of Evil still.
Heaven shield from both the Flower of Rajasthan!
[*Exit*]

Amir Khan—

Wert thou not sheltered by the shield of Maun,
Thy life should pay the forfeit for that speech.

(*Enter the Maharajah Jowandas.*)

Salaam, Maharaj.

Jowandas—

Now the gods preserve us!
It is the Khan. What dost thou here, Amir,
With all thy spears about thee and a guard
Around the palace of my ancestors?
Art thou a friend?

Amir Khan—

The friend of Rajasthan.

Jowandas—

The friend of Mewar?

Amir Khan—

Ay, and friend to thee,
Ere long the king of Mewar.

Jowandas—

Mock me not.
There are a hundred princes of the blood
Nearer the cushion than is Jowandas.

Amir Khan—

And when they strive among themselves for it,
One stronger than those hundred will attain,
He at whose back the Khan rides conquering.

Jowandas—

Thou wilt support me?

Amir Khan—

Surely, Jowandas—
On but a slight condition. 'Tis decreed
By Mewar that the Princess Krishna die.
Nay, start not thus, Maharaj! Only thus
Can come Rajwarra's peace. 'Tis Mewar's will.

Yet must a victim so exalted fall
By no vile, common hand. A prince like thee
Should strike the blow that rescues Hindustan.

Jowandas—

Nay, great Amir, no little price is this
E'en for the crown of Mewar.

Amir Khan—

As thou wilt.
A hundred other princes of the blood
Will pay it eagerly. Pass onward, prince.
This poniard is for nobler hand than thine,
The crown of Bappa for a loftier brow.

Jowandas—

Nay, dread Amir. Not so shall Jowandas
Renounce his birthright. Did he hesitate?
It was but for a moment. Doubt him not.

Amir Khan—

Thou wilt accept the poniard?

Jowandas—

Lo, I stretch
My hand to grasp it. See, it trembles not.

Amir Khan—

Then take it, Maharajah Jowandas,
And see thou fail not. Let thy blow be swift
Deadly and sure. What means this sudden stir?
Ah, fortune favours us. The hour is come,
Thine hour to strike for glory and a throne.

Stay where thou art—be ready. Lo, she comes,
Krishna Kumari, Flower of Rajasthan!

(Between the lines of soldiers presenting arms Krishna Kumari slowly descends the steps. Jowandas crouches low behind Amir Khan and Ajit.)

Amir Khan (bowing low)—

Salaam, desire of fifty thousand hearts,
Fair as the dawn on ocean! Thou art come
As shines a star to sailors on the sea,
To us hard warriors as the twilight's fall
On the red plains of battle. (*Aside.*) Now, Maharaj!

(Jowandas springs forward with dagger uplifted, then stops suddenly. The princess regards him steadily. Then with a cry he drops the dagger.)

Amir Khan—

Fool, thou hast ruined all.

Ajit—

And lost a throne.

Krishna (to Amir Khan)—

Salaam, Bahadur! Prithee, let the blow
Fall quickly now, for I have waited long,
Waited, it seems to me, a thousand years.

(CURTAIN.)

[*To be continued.*]

F. FRANCIS JUDD

WHAT IS SHIVA

The theistic Hindu Philosophy is based on the conception that existence cannot arise out of non-existence, on the other hand, it asserts that the phenomenal world arose out of a Reality, which is spiritual in its nature and is the fundamental cause of all our phenomenal experience, including our own selves. But in as much as a fundamental thing cannot be explained in terms of anything more simple, as that would destroy its fundamentality, so, properly speaking, it is impossible to define such a substance by the help of language only. Broadly speaking, it can be said that Reality is the idea of that persistence of existence which supports and survives all changeful phenomena; so that, "persistence is the criterion of Reality." People come and go, but their life-history persists in the form of knowledge attained by them. According to Dr. Eriksen, who follows out the theory of relativity in the domain of psychology, "immortality and eternity involve a question, which must be treated from the standpoint of spirituality in its relation to materiality."

In our ordinary experience of the material world, we find species survive individuals and genera survive species. This sort of experience has led us to say, that the province of science is generalisation, that is to say, from considering the individuals we proceed to consider groups of individuals, and thus deduce some general law as the result of our experience of some idea of persistence amongst them. By the discovery of the radio-active quality of substances, which, as far as is known to science at present, is ascribed to the spontaneous disintegration of the so-called atoms, we may readily come to the conclusion that all hitherto known elements will one day come to cease to exist as such elements. By this experience, what we have gained as knowledge about the atoms of hitherto believed elements, is expected henceforth to last to the end of the present world; in other words, this knowledge is "a permanent possession of humanity." From this it is plain enough to assert, that experiences gained through phenomena, are more permanent than the phenomena themselves; because they bring about, it appears, modifications in our fundamental stuff. This is much more so in the case of super-human experience, when compared with ordinary human experience, as the latter is seldom unfailing, due to the veiled condition of consciousness in Jîva.

Our world-experience varies every moment, still it does not require a very wide stretch of imagination to realise that there is some principle behind our varied and passing sensations of daily life, which is of a more permanent nature, as, for example, it enables us to compare the impressions left on our mind functionating as memory (चित्त) by past incidents with those caused by the present. This is explained by the Upanishad by its statement that there is an enjoyer of what is subtle—that is impressions left on the mind by objects sensed in the waking state, *i. e.*, when the sense organs are in full play. The said enjoyer is not carried away by the world-flow as he is of a more permanent nature. To adopt the language of the modern theory of Relativity, he is the "real space" behind the sphere of motion, and in Shastrik language, is called (प्रविविक्तभुक्).

It is not very difficult to apprehend that experience owes its origin to enjoyment by the consciousness; and so it varies in accordance with the effectiveness for the time being of the means through which we gain a particular experience. For instance, waking, dreaming and dreamless sleep are all phenomenal states in which experience varies, because of the operation or cessation of operation of the means or instruments (करण) through the instrumentality of which we generally gain all empirical experience. The Hindu philosophy says that there is a fourth state, beyond the above-mentioned three states, which is called the Turîya state, in which, experience is gained directly by consciousness, and all modifications or changes common to empirical experiences, which generate the conception of all antithesis or opposites (द्वन्द्व) cease, and Consciousness as the true back-ground of all changeful experiences is apprehended; this is called the Absolute State; the theory of Relativity also adopts the same term for perfectly motionless space in relation to which all notion of motion is apprehended. In the waking state, experience may be said to be gained through the conditioning instruments, *viz.*, the senses as well as the mind, which latter in Dârshanik language is called the eleventh sense; in the dreaming state, only the impressions of past incidents left on some of the senses as well as the mind are active; in the dreamless sleep state, the mind in its first stage of evolution called Buddhi alone, unaided by the other senses, is active; since in "Sushupti state the sense capacities are absorbed in the Prâna." Whereas, in the transcendental or Turîya state, there is neither the mind nor the senses, all having proceeded towards involution previously, and accordingly the experience is not at all conditioned or limited. Human Logic is absolutely powerless here.

The word "mind" is not to be taken here in the sense given to it by the Western psychologists, when they say "mind is co-extensive with consciousness," but "mind" according to Indian philosophy is more or less a material force enveloping consciousness. Mind and consciousness are two distinct entities, the one deriving its illumination from the other. In Jîva, "mind," which is both the substance and the process, is never separated from consciousness; on the contrary the latter, which is ever unchanged, is being veiled or unveiled by the mental processes. For instance, notwithstanding the impossibility of the conception of more than three dimensions of space by the mind, we are still obliged to face time as the fourth dimension, conceived through the intuition of unveiled consciousness, as it threatens to revolutionize the scientific world.

It is beyond our comprehension to think that in the absolute state the contents of consciousness can be anything other than supreme experience; so much so, that in this state Consciousness and Experience coalesce and form what in Shâstric language is called the Chidâkâsha; the Svarûpa Lakshana of which are, "unity, wholeness and freedom." Chidâkâsha has been translated as the 'Ether of consciousness' and forms an equipotential plenum in which the whole stress-system, being the root cause of all phenomena, operates.

According to the doctrine of the Hindu philosophy apprehension of the experience of Godhead can be realised only through one's own consciousness, when rendered unfettered by the material senses through the performance of Yoga processes, by the opening of the eye of knowledge (ज्ञानचक्षु). This is possible to be done by analysing the consciousness displayed by Godhead in the process of evolution, which we understand to be and denominate as the creation of the universe. These considerations lead us to believe that the ultimate Reality is Chit or Consciousness, which in Shâstric language is called Shiva (either nirguna or saguna, or nishkala or sakala). One of the meanings attached to the term Shiva is that everything rests in It or owes its cause to It (शेतेऽस्मिन्सर्वमिति शिवः).

Now what is knowledge?—It is the state attained by human consciousness as the effect of knowing or experiencing something; so that, essentially it is nothing but a modification, if we may say so, which the individual consciousness undergoes. But consciousness as inherent in humanity, is in a conditioned or veiled state and not in its unlimited, absolute or natural state. Accordingly, ordinary human knowledge, which, as we have seen, is simply a mode of the conditioned consciousness, is much more inferior to the knowledge of the Absolute, which is the true nature of the Perfect Consciousness, the Chit. This

Perfect Consciousness in Shâstric language is called the Shiva; which, being the fundamental cause of evolution, is the principle to be studied and then partially apprehended (not in Its full Greatness, but according to the capacity of the apprehender, which no doubt is much inferior in comparison with the Greatness of Shiva Himself) by the veiled consciousness of Jîva. The Greatness of Shiva is such that the Veda (Revelation) defines Him in negative terms (नेति नेति), as if with awe, because it is unable to portray Him. The Shâstra says that the Perfect Consciousness or Shiva is the substance that exists par-excellence, *i.e.*, is the everlasting existence, or the permanent Being.

To form some idea of the ultimate Reality, all the Hindu philosophies have made attempts to explain the process of creation or the world-process as perceived by the unfailing experience of the ancient sages. These explanations are in the language of limited human beings, so that they lack much in describing any transcendental experience, like this Reality, which is generally spoken of as the Supreme Experience or Chit, or in the language of Prof. Benoyendra Nath Sen "the Intellectual Ideal." Chit has been translated by Sir John Woodroffe as "Consciousness" in the absence of any more fitting word in the English language. In terms of empirical experience Chit has been hinted at by the said learned author as the experience of the changeless background of all changeful phenomena, specially perceptible through psychic activity. To appreciate creation or evolution, we may start by saying, that the process is commenced by an emanation of Consciousness, just like the part said to be played by emanation in radio-active phenomenon. Here we ought to bear in mind that the word (सृष्टि), which comes from a root which means to project, is beginningless (अनादि).

Creation presupposes that the Creator must be a conscious Being and must possess complete experience of what He intends creating; he must be (सर्वज्ञ). Similarly, all objects having forms also produce in our mind the presupposition that they are all created things, because they are not formless. Hence, creation requires an Agent (कर्त्ता) possessing Supreme Experience. In the Absolute state there is no difference between this Supreme Experience and Its possessor—They are both the same substance; because in this state there is no difference between the subject (अहम्) and the object (इदम्), both remaining in a mingled union as One. This is the "absolute space," which is the fundamental Reality, and to which everything owes its origin. The Creator, according to the Hindu idea, means both the instrumental and the material cause of creation. So it is clear, that this Supreme Experience or Chit becomes immanent in the created objects. But owing to the three Gunas—Sattva, Rajas, Tamas, (which are called Gunas or attributes of Mâyâ-Shakti) the actions of which are respectively manifestation, action, veiling, the immanent Chit becomes obscured to different degrees of gradations. Further, to make an unlimited or infinite thing appear limited or finite the power of a mysterious agency called Mâyâ-Shakti is requisitioned (मीयते अनेन इति माया). Mâyâ-Shakti is called the Creatrix of the world. The Chit, in Its state as Chit or "absolute space," although the two-fold cause of creation, actually remains inactive, unless and until the rhythmic motion of world-display sets in, and Its powers Chit-Shakti and Mâyâ-Shakti, which may be translated in terms of Dr. Eriksen as the attraction and the repulsion or the quality-generating and the quantity-generating powers, co-operate with each other; hence Mâyâ-Shakti is an aspect of Brahman Itself. Here Chit-Shakti, like the Purusha of Sângkhya philosophy, acts by Its presence only as the efficient cause, yet remaining actionless Itself; while Mâyâ-Shakti proves to be the material cause of the universe. Accordingly, Mâyâ may be likened to substance-energy of evolution. In connection with this, it is to be borne in mind that Shakti and the possessor of Shakti, according to the doctrine inculcated by the Tantra philosophy are one and the same substance; so that Power of Consciousness = Consciousness in Its active aspect.

The equilibrated state of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas is called Prakriti, and Mâyâ and Prakriti are interchangeable terms ("मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यात्"). In fact all Tattvas previous to and including Prakriti arose out of Mâyâ.

The ultimate Reality, in the language of the Hindu philosophy, is called Brahman or the Grand or Immense Reality, as also Sat-Chit-Ânanda, which latter has been translated by Sir John Woodroffe as Being-Consciousness-Bliss. These terms denote the aspect Brahman assumes in Its quiescent or static state, which is slightly different from Its Transcendental aspect. When by way of play (hinting at Its spontaneity), Brahman entertains the Will to evolve, there appears an activity or motion in Its body, since Brahman is also the material cause of the phenomenal world, and It assumes the aspect of Power or Shakti. So that, in the language of Relativity' Brahman is the "absolute space" and Shakti the motion or Stress (कल). But in the quiescent state, which is the aspect assumed to be held by It immediately previous to static-kinetic aspect, Brahman and Its Power are one and the same substance; since Shakti remains potential in It; this is more so when seen in the light of the sole Reality. Accordingly, there are three ways in which Brahman can be viewed at from our empirical standpoint, *viz.*, in Its transcendental state, which is inexplicable being beyond mind and speech, and so (तत्त्वातीत), and called Brahman or (परमशिव); in its static aspect, when not combined with (कल) or Stress, It is Sat-Chit-Ânanda or Being-Consciousness-Bliss; and in Its kinetic aspect, seen together with Its static aspect, It is called (सकल) or combined with Stress.

"सच्चिदानन्दविभवात् सकलात् परमेश्वरात् ।
आसीच्छक्तिस्ततो नादो नादाद्बिन्दुसमुद्भवः ॥"

The static aspect and the kinetic aspect cannot exist independent of each other, but must co-exist, and are called Shiva-Tattva and Shakti-Tattva respectively according to the aspect predominantly viewed at. In fact, in the language of Sir John Woodroffe: "Shiva-Shakti-Tattva is conceived as round the Shiva Bindu there is coiled Shakti. This coiled Shakti may be conceived as a mathematical line without magnitude which is everywhere in contact with the Bindu and forms one and same point. This is how Shakti's becoming latent may be explained to our notion." In connection with this, Tattvas can be explained as the different stages or phases which Chit (which is an eternal thing) assumes in Its way to evolve the world phenomena; or in other words Tattvas are modes of the fundamental Reality, which is consciousness in essence and ultimately assumes the shape of the phenomenal world; but Tattvas being modes of the Ultimate Reality, they do not disappear until the final dissolution.

"आप्रलयं तिष्ठति यत् सर्वेषां भोगदायि भूतानाम् ।
तत् तत्त्वमिति प्रोक्तं न शरीरघटादि तत्त्वमतः ॥"

The aspect assumed by Chit in Shakti-Tattva has been translated by the above-mentioned learned author as Being-Feeling-Consciousness-Bliss; or in other words, Consciousness or Chit, which is not in its static aspect, but has assumed the Shakti aspect due to Its Will to evolve, which is called Becoming, is transformed from Consciousness simply into Feeling-Consciousness or Experience. In conformity with this view, Transcendental Chit or Brahman = Sambit = Supreme Experience, Sat-Chit-Ânanda = Shiva = Back-ground of active experience, and Shakti = Feeling-Consciousness = Slightly directed experience. The static aspect forms the back-ground of the kinetic aspect, as otherwise the dynamic aspect becomes impossible to be discerned. Accordingly Shiva-Tattva and Shakti-Tattva are ordinarily considered as the two aspects of the same Tattva, and may be conventionally written thus, Shiva-Shakti or Shakti-Shiva, Tattva ; and as a matter of fact, they are, for the sake of brevity, simply called Shiva-Tattva. According to Sir John Woodroffe, Shiva-Tattva and Shakti-Tattva may be ascribed, (as if) to the effect due to the polarisation of the fundamental stuff or Reality, like the north pole and the south pole of a magnet.

From what has been said above, it is quite clear that the ultimate Reality is Consciousness or Supreme Experience ; and experience is based on enjoyment. So that experiences of all past world-enjoyments are always present in the Consciousness in the form of Sangskâras or collectivity of Tendencies. Now these tendencies, as long as they remain in a potential or inward turned (अन्तर्मुखी) state, there would be no experience of subject or object. But Consciousness is self-illuminant, and so tries to manifest Itself, whereby these potential tendencies become gradually outward turned, and a gradual experience of "This" (इदम्) or Object arises first as part of Self, when the Subject or (अहम्) first sees Its own image reflected in the "Idam" or Object, which is accordingly called ("शिवरूपविमर्श-निर्म्मलादर्शः," *i.e.*, the pure mirror in which Shiva experiences Himself). This "Idam" ultimately goes outside the Self and the differentiation of Subject and Object becomes complete. This Tattva, in which the experience of "I" or Subject predominates and the experience of "This" still forms a part of the Self, is called the Sadâ-Shiva or Sadâkhya-Tattva, which may be called the first emanation of Consciousness.

As has been stated above the Aham (Subject) and Idam (Object) stage of Consciousness differentiates ultimately and evolves as the phenomenal world. From this, it is clear, that true knowledge of any phenomenon can only be apprehended by analysing through a process of involution the phases of Consciousness previous to the particular evolution in question, and thereby reaching the stage where Aham and Idam again coincide. This is done through mind and its posterior Tattvas up to Buddhi or intellect. True apprehension of a thing, according to Hindu philosophy, takes place by a process which has been styled by Sir John Woodroffe as "the knowing of like by like," since, as he says—"one and the same Causal Stress in the original Substance-Energy (Shakti) phenomenally appears as the sense on the one hand and the matter and its qualities on the other." To understand this, the psychology of perception as explained by Hindu philosophy may be summarised in the language of Sir John Woodroffe—"Mind is through the sense organs (Indriya) affected by the objects which it selects (as Manas) refers to itself the personal experience so enjoyed (as Ahangkâra) and then determines (as Buddhi)." This is further explained by Hindu philosophy by saying that Mind, in the shape of Buddhi whose substance is Mâyâ goes out to the object, envelopes it and assumes the form of the object, and then presents it to Consciousness which forms the background of Mind. This modification of Buddhi is called its mode (वृत्ति). In other words, objects must attain subjectivity through the perceiving Self (called by the Western psychology "self-feeling") to be apprehended by Chit. This subjective stage in substance is nothing but Consciousness Itself or the Fundamental Reality, which consists of Shiva-Shakti Tattva from the evoluting aspect or the Shakti-Shiva Tattva from involuting aspect. Vedânta philosophy holds that mind and matter are essentially and fundamentally one.

The word Jagat is derived from a root which means "to go" and the world-process, according to the Shâstras, owes its origin to motion (स्पन्दन) which consists of attraction and repulsion, and so it is said to be rhythmic, or coiling and uncoiling like the hair-spring of a watch. This, according to Dr. Eriksen, ultimately becomes the cause of quality and quantity respectively of matter in their abstract senses (attraction having the character of force and repulsion the character of energy); which may also be believed to be the ascribed cause of periodicity. From this, the 'going' of the Jagat is to be interpreted as a motion round a centre. Now the question is to find out this centre, in relation to which all motion takes place simultaneously. The motion of Jagat, as experienced by us, is in relation to our Selves. Accordingly, the Self is the real centre sought for. This Self has been denominated by Vedânta as Sutrâtmâ, but the Tantra calls it Shiva, and Shiva is changeless Chit or the everlasting Reality, which by the modern theory of Relativity is understood as the "Absolute World."

BEPIN BEHARI NEWGIE.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRIBES OF BURMA

Bodily peculiarities and environments form an important part of the study of the tribes; and the physical conditions of the different tracts of Burma, including the climate, the vegetation, and the indigenous animals which affect the accepted types of the inhabitants of the country, could not be totally overlooked. What strikes one while passing from Rangoon to Hsipaw and thence through the mountainous country inhabited by and named after the Shāns and the Palaungs, as also from Mandalay to Myothit on the Chinese frontier north of Bhamo, is (1) the blunted, short-horned cattle, yellow or brown in colour, short, medium, and harmless; (2) the pigs, black or black-and-white; (3) the goats, found only in the plains, short-horned and stunted, with the total absence of the sheep; (4) the wolf-like dogs in the hills and the dingo-like pariahs in the plains, light yellow-brown in colour; (5) the little ponies of the same colour; (6) the total absence of the camel and donkey; (7) the imported mules of the Chinese caravans; (8) the only black beast—the gigantic horned buffalo with a frequent occurrence of albinoes and the absence or remarkable scarcity of black bulls and cows. That the conditions which produced these breeds short, cream to brown in colour, passing through yellows of all shades, comparatively non-pugnacious, and the absence of the black pigment, have resulted from certain environments which affected in man the stature, general bodily condition, complexion, hair, eyes, shape of the face, profiles, prognathism of the region of the mouth, lips, and the transverse prominence of the face appears possible. The tribes examined were the (1) Shāns, the representative of the Great Tāi nation in the upper Shān States ; (2) the Palaungs of the mountains where the pine grows and the tea plant flourishes ; (3) the Kachins of the mountainous valley and watersheds, where the forest-flies they feed on abound, giving the place a significant name :—Maw-Yong-Pong or the valley of the flies. The writer visited the valley with Mr. Chalmers, the Political Adviser to His Highness the Sawbwa of Hsipaw. He has also examined the Kachins of Bhamo enlisted in the ranks of the Military Police, and slightly improved in appearance by drill and in cleanliness under European supervision ; and (4) the Shān-Tā-loke or Chinese Shāns, a crystallized definite ancient cross as distinguished from the modern crosses met with wherever commerce and communication with other races facilitated their formation as Burma is free from racial restrictions on marriage or general intercourse ; (5) the Upper Burmans from Sagaing and Mandalay ; (6) the Chins of the low hilly tract in the Prome District ; (7) Karens of the Burmese and Talaing states ; (8) the Talaings of Thaton who once ruled over a considerable portion of the country, as well as the (9) Taungthu of Thaton. Of the admittedly naturalized Hindus from Manipūr, locally called Kāthes, two castes were examined who presume that they have not intermarried with the natives, although the local Mongolian characteristics are already visible in their features. They call themselves Brahmans and Chhatris. Only those who wore the sacred thread were selected as stereotyped Hindus and others rejected as hybrids. These are possibly the descendants of Hindus who took to themselves Burmese wives.

The physical characteristics which can be generalized so as to admit of a common description of so many races are ; (1) they do not rise above the medium in fullness so as to reach what stoutness means in Europe ; (2) they are not black. The first two shades illustrated in Garson and Read's text book are absent altogether ; and they form a striking contrast to the numerous *cooly* population of the untouchable

Dravidians from Madras found along the railway lines and the trade centres touched by the flotilla. (*a*) All the Burmese races are yellowish-brown of different shades. (*b*) Except among some Kachins and some Chins, the dark shade is absent in the colour of their eyes. Their eyes are of the medium shade generally free from green. Blue and gray are altogether absent. (*c*) The peculiar Mongoloid fold of the skin at the inner angle of the eyes is very prominent in the North-Western tract. It grows smaller or diminishes in size until one comes to the Henzada District where the Karens show only a vestige. (*d*) Colour of the hair is black except among the Shāns and Palaungs, among whom dark brown is often met with. The hair is straight and rough among the Kachins, Chins, Burmans and straight and soft among the Shāns, Palaungs and Shān-Tā-lokes. Curls and tufts are absent, but wavy hair is sometimes met with. (*f*) The amount of the hair on the scalp is copious, baldness is rare, but on the face hairs are, plucked out, except in few cases. Hair on the lips and body is absent. (*g*) The shape of the face is Mongoloid, like a shield or a tortoise shell, with the cheek-bones and angle of the lower jaw prominent. (*h*) The profile of the nose borders on the Australoid or No. 7 of Topinard's illustrations, the bridge low, and the breadth of the nose often equals and sometimes exceeds the length. The upper surface is usually straight, upturned, or sinuous but is generally flat and broad. The septum is soft and the nasometer often reaches neither the cartilage nor the bony protuberance at the osseous opening without—in many instances—causing pain. The nose, therefore, in the majority of cases looks long, but according to the accepted standard of anthropometry it is low. (*i*) The lower jaw and the upper part of the mouth are moderately prominent and affect the contour of the face as well as the intellectual or Cuvier's angle, which scarcely exceeds 68 even among the best of Burma's tribes, excepting the Talaings among whom it reaches 74. (*j*) Lips medium. (*k*) Transversely, the face is flat and the cheek-bones prominent, so much so that in some instances they exceed even the breadth of the cranium. (*l*) One special feature not noticed in any book on this subject is the recurrence among the Northern Shāns and Palaungs of the excessive width of the inter-orbicular space—that is, space between the inner angles of both the eyes. It often equals the breadth of the nose and actually exceeds it some cases. The eyes are, therefore, partially covered, small, and often give the face a ludicrous appearance showing defective intelligence. The bizygomatic arches stretch the skin of the face, as well as the bridge of the nose, and facilitate the production of this special characteristic.

Taking each tribe separately, the characteristics of the people are grouped below:—

Shān-Tā-loke or Chinese Shāns.—This is a peculiar race like the Nāyar of the Madras Presidency; the women of this tribe marry Chinamen by preference. Although unlike them, they are the nearest approach to the Chinese. Myothit represents an advanced guard or colony of their own race, and is on the old trade-route to China. The women wear a turban—a peculiar custom. Some of them are pretty, and most of them approach the Chinese, so much so that instances of reversion to the original type were noticed among women born with deformed feet with the sole turned into a stump.

Kachins.—The Kachins are the dirtiest people ever seen. They are dark brown in complexion with round faces and partly medium and partly Mongoloid noses. The fold at the caruncles is not as frequent as among the other tribes. The stature is short to medium. They possess a sort of wild look. Hair is black, but not long. This is comparatively the darkest and stoutest tribe in upper Burma, and yet in no way does it reach the soot-black of the Southern Dravidians of Madras and of lower Bengal.

Kāthes.—The Kāthes of Mandalay and Sagaing, who are the descendants of Hindu emigrants from Manipur, are still divided into Manu's fourfold castes. The Brahmans wear the sacred thread, the Chhatris follow suit in many instances, but the Baniyas and Kāyasthas do not. Many of them freely marry local or Burmese women and are Hindus only in name. The Brahmans have a high bridge to their noses though traces of the Mongoloid fold are invariably present. The Chhatris also have a high bridge. They are mostly weavers and correspond in profession to the Khatris of Sind and Bombay. They are sometimes as dark as the average Bengali, from whom they claim descent. Their women dress like the local Burmese women, a feature worth consideration. Males do change their dresses when they migrate from one province to another, but females are, all over India, very conservative and cling to their original habits. In Burma the Rāthe women have no trace of the original dress. They do not wear the *tāli* or marriage necklace of Madras, nor do they keep the iron wristlet of the married Bengali female. It looks, therefore, possible that they are Burmese converted to Hinduism in the first generation and then isolated generations ago. They worship the Hindu goddess Bhavāni in her eight-handed form and are especially devoted to Krishna and his mistress Rādhā. The Chhatris have a curious hero-god called Maha-Prabhu, *i.e.*, Great Lord. Whether they are mutilated crosses of the warrior race or not, remains to be ascertained. The Brahmans and Chhatris in many instances wear Indian *dhotis* with a fold tucked behind the loins, although they let their hair grow like the Burmans. We thus find traces of the Indian loin cloth only among the males. When contrasted with the total absence of this characteristic among women the theory of marriage of the emigrants with local girls is strengthened.

Southern Chins.—The Chins of the Prome District seem to be of medium stature, yellowish-brown (No. 4 of Garson and Read's scales) in complexion, medium; in condition—neither stout nor thin. The colour of the eyes is also medium without any trace of the green. The fold of the skin at the inner angle of the eye is always present covering more than ⅓rd of the caruncle. Hair is black, with instances of dark-brown and medium, straight and rough, abundant over the scalp and face, but in the latter place hairs are always picked out. In shape the face is medium with instances of the short and broad type. The nose is generally of the Chinese type tending to the Australoid. The region of the mouth is prominent showing marked prognathism and materially affecting Cuvier's angle. Lips medium. The face shows a clear tendency to platyprosopic formation. The cheek-bones are high. One peculiarity observed is the depression between the eye-bones or the ridge of the supra-orbital arch in most of the cases examined. The skin is oily. The outer angles of the eyes are generally turned upwards suggesting an almond shape. Hair is uniformly scattered over the scalp. There are no traces of the formation of tufts. The males do not allow beards to grow; their habits are dirty and breath foul.

Palaungs.—The Palaungs are one of the fairest of Burma's tribes. In appearance they are more Tibetan than Burman. Their women have that pleasant rosy tint on their cheeks which marks the mountaineer of the cold region. Height—medium, faces tending to the round, skin yellowish-rosy, the lower jaw not as prominent as among the Burmans proper. The interorbicular space is not as wide as that among the Shāns. The breadth of the nose is less than the length. The nostrils small, not inflated. Hair dark but often brownish. Their women are fully clad and carry their loads and children in the Tibetan fashion seen at Simla, hanging from the scalp.

Lower Burmans.—They resemble the upper Burmans but are stouter and fairer. There are many Eurasians among them and instances of the most beautiful productions of crosses between the yellow and white races are frequent. Some of the Burmo-European girls look like the Italian girls of Naples—with pinkish complexion and regular features, remarkably attractive.

Northern Shāns.—The 100 specimens examined were all males from Hsipaw, Toti, Palaung, Mongmu, and Maw-Yong-Pong. They were all adults. Many of them were strong, muscular, well-built, and a few were thin. The prevalent colour of the skin is yellowish-brown, those at Hsipaw being a shade darker than those in the interior. The eyes are medium, without any trace of blue or green. Most of them show a distinct trace of the Mongoloid fold of the skin at the inner angle of the eye. The eyes are small and the distance between their inner angles is marked. In the nose, the bridge is often absent. In many instances the fold partly covers the caruncle. The colour of the hair is black or brownish-black, mostly straight, long, tied into a top-knot slightly inclined to the left. The head is fully covered with hair; gray hair is scarce even among old people. Hair on the face absent with an occasional trace of moustaches, and scarcely any of beards. The face is broad at the zygomatic arches, and comparatively broad again at the bigonial points, and yet it has an oval appearance on the whole. The nose is pyramidal, narrow at the base, broad at the tip, but generally flat. The height and breadth of nose often averaged 4′ 4″. Lips are medium, and the face is platyprosopic or flat, with conspicuous cheek-bones. Men in the hills are generally healthy. Women are fairer, with olive or yellowish-white with an occasional pinkish tint. The skin of both the sexes is smooth and oily, but the colour of the limbs naturally differs from that exposed to the sun. Freckles not visible. The scalp, neck, chest, loins, thighs, and the upper part of the legs of the males are copiously tattooed in red and blue with designs in animals, arches, or geometrical charms. Elephants, peacocks, and pigs are the favourites among animals, dragons and superhuman giants come next, bullet-marks and dots intervene. Women are not tattooed; men are very fond of exposing their tattooed thighs even when they are supplied by Government with trousers as part of their uniform. At Hsipaw there is an evident tendency to thinness approaching that of the Burman—possibly due to inter-mixture. Marriage is adult and there is no trace of polyandry though polygamy is practised on a large scale. Women go naked above the chest—only a few of them covering their breasts with a rag. In the capital (as the Ruler has received his education in England) jackets have been introduced and yet, while at home or while going to a neighbour's home, half clad women are constantly met with. Children below ten are generally nude except in few instances. In general characteristics the Shāns are midway between the Burmans and the Palaungs.

Upper Burmans.—The Burmans proper decidedly represent a darker race. They are dark, reddish-brown in general, with instances of yellowish-brown. The skin is rough, coarse, and oily. Parts covered do not much differ in shade from those exposed to the sun. Those born of Shān women are fairer. A regular cross has differentiated itself and is called Kadu. They claim the prettiest girls in Burma. The colour of the iris is hazel, the shape Mongoloid, the inner fold is often present. There is no trace of grays and greens. The distance between the inner angles of the eyes is sometimes very marked. It is often found to be as much as the breadth of the nose, that is 4 mm. The regular almond-eye is sometimes met with. The hair is black, straight, either rough or soft. Instances of the hair of the scalp reaching the calves have been seen in Mandalay. Gray hair is not frequent. This is possibly the result of the hair-wash in use. The decoction of the bark of a *mimosa* with lemon-juice and another acid-juice of some leguminous tree, possibly preserve the hair in Burma. An examination of the *recipé* will be interesting. There are no curls in the hair, nor are there any tufts. Males do not allow a beard to grow. They pluck the hair out. No instances of baldness are seen. The form of the face of a

Burman proper presents the most varied features. It is generally oval, but square, oblong, elliptical and shield-shaped faces are not scarce. This perhaps shows that the Burman as such is the most mixed race in this province. Its ancient kings systematically demanded the daughters of the Shān Swabs under their political influence; the residents on the banks of the navigable rivers systematically offered their daughters to Indian and European visitors, and the Chinaman had quite the monopoly of the girls for generations. Originally Dravidians of some sort, they seem to have received blood from various sources—Hindu, Musulmān, Chinese, Shān, Talaing, European, and others. The profile varies from snub to straight, but the sudden termination of the tip indicates a Polynesian strain. The skin is often oily. The cheek-bones are prominent and the lips medium. In stature also, they present a varied scale ranging from 1,400 mm. to 1,900 mm. At the long-established commercial centres the variations are more marked than in the interior. Coast people are getting darker and uglier.

Karens.—This tribe is divided territorially into two septs: (1) Pwo Karen, (2) Sgaw Karen: the former being also called Burman Karens, and the latter Talaing Karens, because they lived—in olden times—under the native rulers of these tribes. Although inter-marriage is allowed between them and the other local tribes, it has not yet become general. In appearance these two septs do not much differ from one another. They are a shade fairer than the average Burmans, and though of medium stature they are stouter. In complexion they are yellowish-brown, nearly resembling No. 4 of Garson and Read's standard, but occasionally a reddish tint is observable. They have eyes of medium hazel colour with a little more of yellow than that of the Burmans, without any trace of green or blue. The Mongolian fold at the inner angle of the eye is not as frequent as among the Burmans, and when present, only a vestige is seen.

Hair dark-brown, straight and generally rough, but of late some people have been wearing moustaches. The tip of the nose is of the Australoid type with instances of the straight concave and wavy forms. Prognathism is moderately marked. Lips are medium. Transversely, the face is platyprosopic with the cheek-bones conspicuous and the lower jaw rather broad. Skin profusely oily. Exposed parts of the skin brownish, the unexposed part—Topinard's dark—yellow-brown. Eyes larger than those of the Burmans as the inner angles are not usually covered by the fold. Hair long, uniformly scattered over the scalp, and generally coarse. The males pluck out their beards. There are instances of gray hair before forty years of age.

Talaings.—Landing at Moulmein one sees a general change of environments ethnographically important. The short-horned cattle gradually diminish in percentage and the thin, long-horned breed begins to predominate. Black bay, and dark-brown coloured bulls and cows are frequently met with. Hindus of Madras and other places are seen everywhere. In the architecture of the pagodas traces of the Indian square monuments with the four corners raised so as to represent sections of a lotus bud are also seen. Turning to the tribes one finds that the bridge of the nose is high, eyes more open, and the fold at the caruncles or inner angles of the eye is less frequent. Hair short, and the general contour of the face more prominent than that of the Burmans proper. Straight noses and curved or Jewish noses are more frequent than the usual Chinese or Mongoloid flat noses. The men are fairer, and somewhat manlier in appearance. It has been said that they are the prehistoric emigrants from India, naturally much mixed. They do not seem to favour inter-marriages with the Burmans proper. Their intellectual or Cuvier's angle is higher than that of any of the Burman races yet examined, as it ranges from 72 to 76 in the majority of cases, while that of the

Burmans is bellow 69 on average, the Karens alone reaching 71. Anthropologically, therefore, the Talaings are more Mongolo-Scythians than Mongoloids.

Taungthus.—The Taungthus are tall; they have oval faces with Mongoloid characteristics. They very much resemble the Burmans proper except in height.

B. A. Gupte

YOUTH

(*Translated from a poem by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore*)

1

Oh Youth ! wilt thou always remain
imprisoned in bliss ?—
Thou, who canst dance on the topmost
boughs of the thorny trees.
A traveller on the trackless ocean's shore,—
Thy wings are restless, tireless evermore.
In search of thy far-off unknown nest,
Thy course is always free ;
Thunder thou canst snatch from the cyclone's breast
Resistless is thy plea.

2

O Youth ! art thou a beggar for a span of breath ?
—Thou who canst hunt in the
thorny paths of the woods of death.
For thee death bears in his chalice,
The ambrosial wine of bliss.
Thy offended lover is waiting for thee,
Covered with the veils of death,
Remove that veil and then wilt thou see,
Her sweet face that enchanteth.

3

O Youth ! to the notes of what ambition
thou tunest thy mind ?
Within the dry pages of books, can thy
message be kept confined ?

The lyre of the southern breeze
Sings thy message to the woodland trees.
Thy message awakes in tempestuous clouds,
And the tumult of storm ;
It sings with the sea-waves, swiftly and loud,
A triumphant song.

4

O Youth ! art thou a captive within thy fears ?
Thou who must sternly break, through the illusive meshes of years !
Thy kindled flames as a dagger fierce,
The mist of age let it boldly pierce,
Cleaving the bosom of age worn out with fears,
Let thy immortal flower
Blossom into light through the cycle of years,
Each day through each hour.

5

O Youth ! wilt thou remain humbled to the dust ?
With the insulting weight of the refuge of years, wilt thou be crushed ?
Thou for whose sake the early dawn,
Will bring her crown of gold each morn.
The aspiring fire whose flames doth reach the skies,
Thy poet is even he.
The sun who opens on thy face his eyes,
Is a reflection of thee.

DHIRENDRANATH GHOSH

A SKETCH OF BURMESE MUSIC

Thoughts of Burma always set a tune going in our heads, and that tune is the ever loved *Mandalay*.

> "By the old Moulmein Pagoda, lookin' eastward to the sea,
> There's a Burma girl a—settin', and I know she thinks o'me;
> For the wind is in the palm-trees, and the temple-bells they say:
> 'Come you back, you British soldier; come you back to Mandalay.'"

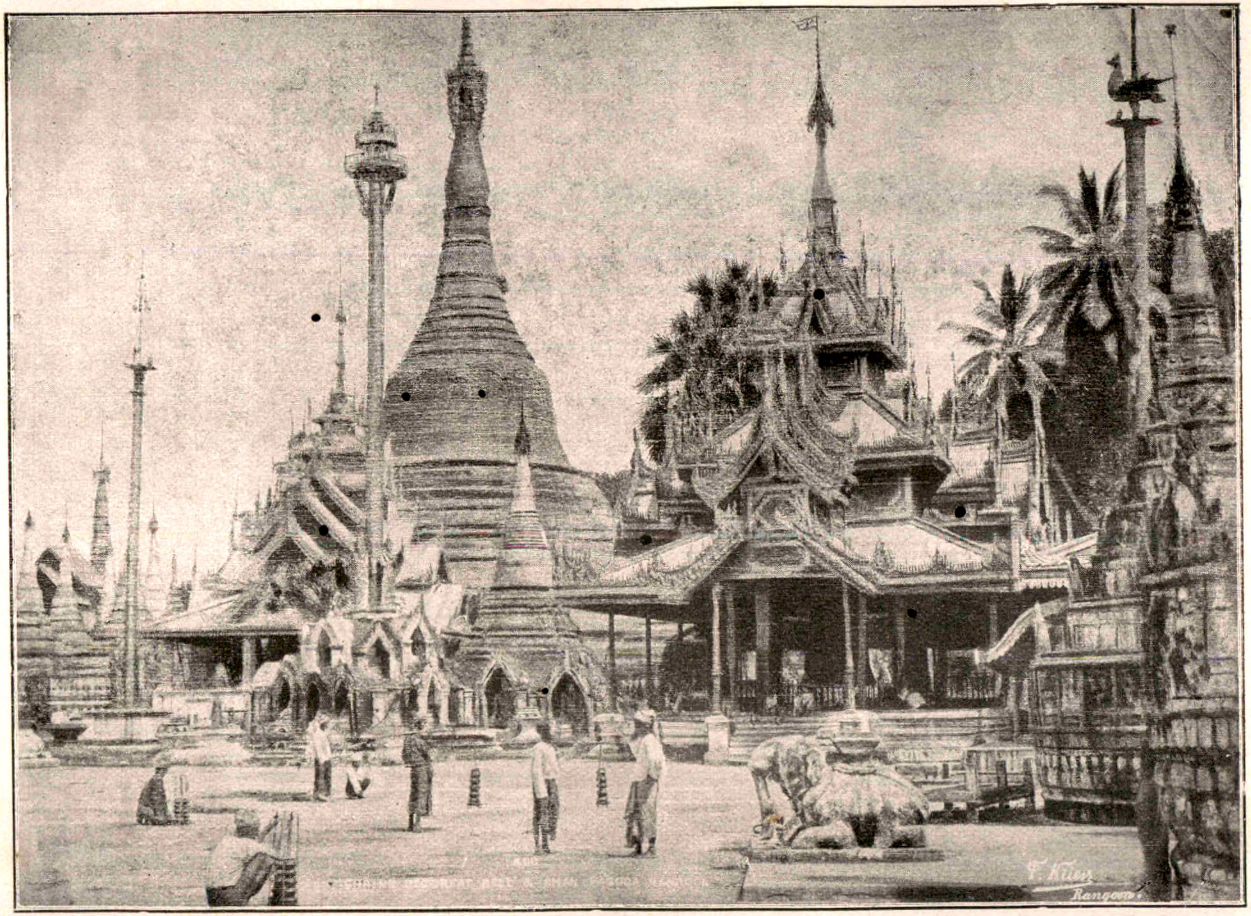
For surely, no more graphic word-picture was ever painted, than those magic lines of Kipling's set to music so perfectly by Oley Speaks. To read "Mandalay," is to see again the "old Moulmein Pagoda;" to feel once more the wind in the palm-trees; to hear the tinkle of the temple-bells, "When the mist was on the rice-fields and the sun was droppin' slow."

We envision again the groups of pretty Burma girls, clad in a harmony of bright colours like a living posy; for the Burmese have a passion for beautifully tinted garments, just as bright as "Supi-yaw-lats," whose "petticoat was yaller" and whose "little cap was green." The girls still smoke the "whackin' white cheroots," and play the little banjo, although under a different name.

The picture has not changed much in Burma; the flying fishes still play, and "the dawn comes up like thunder outer China, crost the Bay." All the old magic is there, and the immortal "Mandalay" lives on in the daily life of the people and places.

Burma, bounded by China, Assam, Bengal, Manipur, Siam and the sea, has been open to the influences of these different people, but she has retained her own "national personality;" her own customs, manners and music.

In her history, she has undergone the vicissitudes of invasions; from the Portuguese in 1589; the Dutch in 1600; and a little later from the British East India Company......


F. Klier
Rangoon.

From the Land of the *Pagodas*

these last came to stay, and in the meantime, internal strife continued, and the old Burmese dynasties were abolished. After several unsuccessful attempts by the Burmese themselves to invade Assam, Bengal and Manipur, "the British formally declared war against the Burmese on the 5th of March, 1824," and a peace treaty was finally signed in 1830 when the British Residency was permanently established.

Old King Thebaw was one of the most picturesque of the Burmese Kings, who, it is said, was a very lax disciplinarian, as far as his own people were concerned. He, however, hated the British and issued a proclamation ordering his people "to drive the British heretics into the sea." As we know, this was easier said than done, and, instead of being driven into the sea from which they came, they were destined to become the Rulers of the land, and to weld Upper and Lower Burma into a more harmonious whole than she had ever been under the rule of the Burmese Kings.

With the new order, much of the pageantry of the old Court days vanished; but in its place came a better system of civic life. Trade was developed and agricultural conditions greatly improved. But underneath the superstructure of new Progress and Civilization, the old religion, customs, arts and music have remained unchanged, and it is in the arts of Burma that we find our interest centred rather than in politics and trade.

Eighty-six per cent. of the population of Burma is Buddhist, the remnant still holds to its old pre-Buddhistic cult of Animism. The belief in good and evil spirits is very prevalent, for the forces dominating nature are personified thus; and natural phenomenon itself constitutes the basis for the superstitions and customs that enthral the minds of the more primitive of the natives of Burma. In fact, this antique belief permeates Buddhism itself, and in many of the plays, dramas and music forms, and particularly in the traditional dances of the people, we find strong traces of fantastic and unique beliefs influencing the musical and literary ideas of the present-day Burman.

It is said the Buddha commanded that His image and relics should be worshipped by His followers; certainly one could not forget Buddha in Burma, for one is confronted with thousands of His statues, that rise up in the land as a concrete expression of the people's faith. These images are made of clay, copper, silver, brass and ala baster and are sometimes profusely decorated with gold and jewelled ornamentation, and garlanded with flowers. They are not as the "Tommy" in *Mandalay* said:

> "......Bloomin' idols made of mud
> Wat they called the great Gawd Bud;"

but rather figures that represent much more than they indicate; that is, that they are the symbols of a great and fervent faith that manifests itself in the lives of a cheerful, earnest and "believing people."

One of the most spectacular and interesting festivals in Burma is held in the second month of the Burmese year, when the young men, candidates for the Buddhist priesthood, celebrate the last days of their worldly life in somewhat the same manner that a gay bachelor entertains his friends on the eve of his becoming a Benedict.

On this great occasion in Burma, the houses are decorated with flowers and lanterns, feasts are set out and the people are regaled with varied entertainments consisting of dancing, wrestling, dramas, music and fireworks. The candidates themselves, sometimes numbering several hundreds, form into a procession and parade, headed by a band of drummers and musicians. Then follow dancing girls, gaudily clad in silks, tinsel, gum flowers and jewels, who posture with lithe grace to the tune of reed instruments and the beat of drums. These are followed by gala-dressed young women who carry on their heads baskets filled with fruit and flowers as offerings for the Temples. Then come the male relations of the young novices, carrying swords of state, and various royal insignia; bands of women bringing bowls of rice as presents for the Priests; images of sacred trees, umbrellas of state, pillows, carpets, yellow cloth for sacred garments and other offerings for the young priests-to-be.

The candidates themselves are carried on bamboo platforms, and they are dressed in their finest garments, ornamented with jewels, lace, gum flowers and tinsel. There are carts drawn by buffaloes, ornamented by flags and flowers, containing dancing girls and musicians. The end of the procession is formed by the female relations of the candidates and the officers and attendants of the Government.

This great Festival lasts for several days and is intended to be a final taste of the joys of this material world before the young men must say farewell to all physical enjoyments, must be divested of their festive garments, shorn of their splendour and their hair, and donning the yellow robe of the Priests of Buddha, must leave their families, their ties with life, their luxuries and vanities, and forswearing all earthly joys must henceforth devote their hours to meditation and prayers in the Temples.

Burma is a land of beautiful Pagodas, of lovely scenery, of a people whose quaint customs have survived all invasions by foreign peoples. In her music we find many new and interesting forms of originality of conception and execution.

The Burmese are a people devoted to music in its various forms. Music and poetry are one; the songs of the country are the epics that relate the past glories of old Burma and the imaginary episodes of heroes, and Nats, or spirits. These Nats are believed to animate nature, to live in trees and flowers and streams, and to even enter the drums and musical instruments, influencing the player to wild and fantastic effort. Their music, like their art and architecture is peculiarly colourful, decorative, vivid and oriental in presentation.

It is perhaps most significant that the national amusement of Burma is not cock-fighting as in the Phillipines, or bull-fighting as in Spain, not base-ball as in America, Rugby or cricket as in England, but music, or a series of musical entertainments called "Pwes" to which the Burmese *en masse*, are passionately devoted.

These Pwes are divided into four classes: first, the Zut Pwe, or an entertainment of dancing, singing and clowning; secondly, the Yokhe Pwe, which is an entertainment of music and acting performed by marionettes; thirdly, is the Yein Pwe, which is a Ballet or ensemble, performed by young men and women; and fourthly, there is the Anyein Pwe, where a group of actors perform a drama to the accompaniment of songs and music, and sometimes lasting all through the night and into the dawn.

The Yein-Pwe is especially adapted to some ceremonial or public occasion of festivity, to honour some high official or some Pagoda. The other Pwes are of more constant and common occurrence and are performed on all occasions, and especially on moonlight nights. The Burmese are very fond of these moonlight entertainments, and attend with their families, prepared to spend the night in an enjoyment which knows no fatigue and admits no satiety. The children are provided with food and beds while the elders are enthusiastic audiences, entering into the mimicry and clowning of the comic characters with great gusto and childish delight in simple repartee and mummery.

In the great New Year Festivals the people enter into a several days' enjoyment of Pwes; dancing, singing and dramas where the actors extemporize in dialogue and recitative, and when the singers experiment in original melodies and improvisations. At the season of Lent there is a popular festival, similar to the Hindu "Diwali" or Feast of Lights, when the villages and towns are illuminated with thousands of lanterns and the people are regaled with dancing girls, musicians and actors.

It is refreshing to see such whole-souled enjoyment of Music, whether the music may be our style or not. The impulses governing it are the same, and the expression of the music comes from the hearts of the people in simple uncultured, natural, unaffected form. There is a peculiar charm to the more reserved and conventionalized Westerner in hearing the free unrepressed, if primitive, musical emotions of the East, a sort of vicarious letting down of the bars of veneer that covers us and our manner of living and expressing ourselves. We are vastly intrigued by the devil dancers, whose atavistic performances, awaken some echo deep down in our own "civilized" beings. All primitive manifestations of rhythm and music touch some hidden chord of memory within us; we answer to the urge of quickened impulse, of excitement, of romance and imaginings. Here in the East, in a moonlight night, where the throb of the drum pulses in insistent rhythm, endlessly, we forget the limitations of time, and succumb to the spell of the senses, unhampered by our own traditional barriers of constraint and inhibition. As the "Tommy" said—

> "If you've 'eard the East a-callin', you won't never 'eed naught else.
> No ! you won't 'eed nothin' else
> But them spicy garlic smells,
> An' the sunshine an' the palm trees an' the tinkly Temple bells;
> On the road to Mandalay."

Aside from their singing and dancing, the Burmese have fashioned some very ingenious and attractive-looking musical instruments, several of which have been introduced into India and Ceylon.

As is usual with many oriental instruments, the people have spent more time in constructing an elaborate case, than in bestowing upon it the beauties and powers of tonal depth that we Westerners desire in our instruments. From some very elaborate and intricate instruments we have been disappointed in hearing a thin, ineffective tone, that seemed oddly inharmonious with the beauty of the carved and decorated case.

The *Soun*, or harp is a very popular Burmese instrument. It has thirteen silken strings, to the ends of which are attached tassels which serve both as an ornamentation and as a means of tuning the harp. The instrument is shaped like a canoe or boat.

The Burmese fiddle is called the *Thro*, and is regarded as important as a solo and orchestral instrument. While the *Thro* is indigenous to Burma, it is very much like the *Indian Sarinda* in style and tone.

The chief flute is called the *Puloay*, and is very much in favour, as is the Oboe, whose plaintive and nasal tones seem very much the same in every country.

The *Pattala* and *Meyoung* came originally from Siam, under the names of the *Ranat* and *Tuk-key*. The Ranat is a kind of Harmonicon, and the Tuk-key, or "alligator," is a stringed instrument, which has silk and brass strings and is played with an ivory plectrum. The instrument is placed upon the ground and the player presses the frets with one hand.

There are many varieties of gongs, which are the indispensible complement of orchestras, where it is desirable to augment the noise and add to the quantity of the instruments. The tuned gongs are a set of sixteen gongs, tuned to the diatonic scale, which are suspended on a bamboo frame, and played upon by a small hammer.

Cymbals are very popular and there are many varieties in Burma. The large cymbals are called the *Ya-gwin*, and the small ones are the *Than-in*. They are especially useful for accenting the beat and rhythm as well as adding tonal colour to the music. The peculiar musical clashing sound of a cymbal always pleases the ear and heightens the tone of a climax.

A Burmese triangle, made of bell metal, copper and silver, is called the *Kyee-zee*, and is particularly favoured in Temple worship. The Buddhists ring it to call attention to their offerings, and the tone is both powerful and sweet.

The "tinkly temple bells" hang from every Burmese temple roof, and sway in the breeze giving out a mellow and sweet tone. These small temple bells are called the *Khews*, and they call the devotee to prayer in shrine and holy temple. The temple bells are of all sizes, however, and some are very huge and powerful, as the great bells in the Shwe Dagon and Moulmein Pagodas.

In the Moulmein Pagoda the great brazen bell is suspended in front of the temple, between two posts. When a priest or devotee has made an offering in the temple he takes the deer horn striker and sets the great tone reverberating.

In the beautiful and venerable Shwe Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon, under a brightly ornamented wooden shed, stands the enormous temple bell, which is supposed to weigh forty-two and a half tons. This great bell was given to the Temple in 1840 by King Tharrawaddy. It is inscribed with lines telling of the merits won by the King. This bell has a long and interesting history and is highly venerated by the Buddhists.

Music forms an important part of the Buddhistic temple ceremonies. The priests chant in unison to the tinkle of bell, clash of cymbal, blare of horns and sound of gong, On certain sacrificial occasions temple dancing girls perform the traditional sacred dances.

Besides the many favoured instruments of percussion dear to orientals, the Burmese are very fond of castanets made of bamboo. The Burmese castanets are sometimes of enormous size, and they rejoice in the name of *Wahle Khoht.*

There are an infinite variety of tom-toms and drums of all kinds, for in Burma as in India and other oriental countries, the drums supply the bass, the harmony and the musical background for the solo instruments.

The *Seing-wing* is a circular frame of carved wood on the inside of which a number of drums of graduated drums are hung. The player sits within the frame and displays considerable digital dexterity and agility in manipulating the drums to tuned tonic and fifths. These drums are the inevitable accompaniment of all Burmese orchestras.

The Burmese zylophone is a boat-shaped, hollow instrument, of very attractive appearance. There are transverse bars of metal crossing it and it is played with padded sticks and tuned to the natural minor scale.

The "Cat" is perhaps the most unusual of the Burmese instruments. It is a stringed instrument in the shape of a cat in sitting position. The tail winds up over the back of the cat and to it are attached the strings, twelve in number and usually tuned to d, f, a, g, b and c.

In the popular Burmese plays, which are invariably a mixture of dialogue and music, there are many songs of traditional nature. The story of the Hindu Rama and Sita has grown very popular in Burma, and the episodes of their lives are the subjects chosen most frequently. There is always music and dancing combined with drama, which makes most Burmese dramatic performances "operatic" in form. One seldom sees a play without music, or a dance where there is no dialogue or comic relief offered by a clown or two.

It would be impossible to close even this imperfect description of Burmese music without mentioning particularly the dancing girls who form so important a part of the musical life of the people.

These dainty and graceful little creatures remind one more of the petite Japanese Geisha girls than of any oriental dancers of more cumbersome and voluptuous form. Delicately shaped, beautifully attired, sinuous and agile, they have a peculiar charm as they weave the measures of some old dance of Burmah's yesterday.

Like the Japanese girls, they too use a fan, with the utmost grace and charm. Their movements are slow and restrained at first, gradually gathering momentum with the increasing tempo of the music to which they sing their little songs in a childlike and unmatured voice.

Their muscular control is remarkable, and the dance form sometimes intricate and difficult; all parts of the body are eventually brought into play, until at the end of the dance, they droop gracefully to the floor in a natural but studied pose that would not put to shame the cadence of a Russian Ballet's premiere danseuse. There is much of originality in the dainty performance of a Burmese dancing girl, no hint of vulgarity or coarseness or awkwardness such as one frequently sees in the muscle dancing of some nautch dancers of India or Egypt. One is particularly impressed by the delicacy of the conceptions of dance-forms, the gracile impersonations, the ingenious charm of the tiny little creatures.

No wonder that the "Tommy" in "Mandalay" was enraptured with the Burmese maid; no wonder that he fell hopelessly under the spell of the tropical charms of the land of golden moonlight, of the temple bells and the colourful glamour of the East.

We can sympathize with the "Tommy's" longing to go back again, and his desire to answer to the call from far away across the sea.

> "Ship me somewhere east of Suez, where the best is like the worst,
> Where there aren't no Ten Commandments an' a man can raise a thirst;
> For the temple-bells are callin', an' it's there that I would be—
> By the old Moulmein Pagoda, looking lazy at the sea;
> On the road to Mandalay,
> Where the flyin'-fishes play,
> An' the dawn comes up like thunder outer
> China 'crost the Bay!"

LILY STRICKLAND-ANDERSON

THE PHILOSOPHY OF BEAUTY[1]

(*A Study towards Synthesis*)

XI

One of the earliest discoveries of Synthetical Æsthetics (an offspring of philosophical parentage which is not yet born but is giving anticipatory hints in this paper, and will, we hope, achieve a less cacophonious and more æsthetical name) will be that Socrates and Plato, both as regards their mutual monism and their divergent subjectivity and transcendentalism in their teachings on Beauty, were anticipated by a century in China. Confucius (B. C. 551-478) was, like Socrates (B. C. 468-399), a humanist moralist, and, in true pre-Socratic manner, valued beautiful things for their utility, with this difference (which is indicative of a difference in hemispherical psychology) that, while Socrates stood for the utility of simple use, Confucius stood for the utility of virtue and pleasure, valuing things beautiful not only for their adaptation to household floors but for their influence of ascension on household manners. "When I had no official employment I acquired many arts," he boasts, but with a hint of "Go and do thou likewise." These arts included literature, music (both as performer and critic), and ceremonial. He confessed to finding "relaxation and enjoyment" in these, and recommended them to others. For the stimulation of the mind he recommended the Odes. But of speculation as to the origin and nature of the Beauty that he prized so much, he was innocent, and as true to the utilitarian type as the Scottish reformer, John Knox, who, on being quizzed as to the origin of sin, replied that he was too busy trying to get sin out of the world to have time to worry as to how it got into it. There are, however, passages in sayings attributed to Confucius that infer ideas with regard to the external expression of Beauty. While he does not declare, as Socrates does, that Beauty is a purely subjective experience of the human mind, he has a clear conception of the inwardness of the impulse to expression and of the inadequacy of that expression to give full embodiment to the idea. "The written characters," he says, "are not the full exponent of speech, and speech is not the full expression of ideas." Speaking of singing he says: "The modulations of the voice arise from the mind." To this he adds that "the various affections of the mind are produced by things external to it." We should be in error in regarding this last statement as an anticipation of the late unlamented "materialistic philosophy" of the nineteenth century, for there is a passage in the same connection which (whether we take it as referring to a purely subjective process or to spirits such as those that pulled Doctor Faustus this way and that, and finally landed him in the place below the hot water), places the "things external" anywhere but in the external world as ordinarily understood. The passage is this:

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[1] The substance of two lectures delivered in Calcutta University in January, 1924, under the auspices of the Council of Post-Graduate Studies. The first part appeared in the *Calcutta Review* of March, 1924.

> Whenever notes that are evil and depraved affect men, a corresponding evil spirit responds to them; and when this evil spirit accomplishes its manifestations, licentious music is the result. Whenever notes that are correct affect men, a corresponding good spirit responds to them; and when this good spirit accomplishes its manifestations, sublime music is the result.

Much detail is available as to the various classes of music, but these belong to the technical side of the subject.

Plato (B. C. 429-347) and Laotze (B. C. 604-514) are brother transcendentalists. Plato traced Beauty back to supermundane archetypes, even as the Hebrews, religious monists, saw the human form as a materialisation of the Adam Kadmon or Divine Man in the Heavens. Laotze traced everything, Beauty included, back to *Tao*, the Cosmic Mind, or *Buddhi* of

Indian philosophy. Plato rejected the arts. Laotze merely ignored them. Hence the "Tao Teh King" is silent as to æsthetics, with the exception of the reference, already quoted, to contemporary definitions of beauty and ugliness. Later, Taoism valued the arts, not for their use domestically or morally, but as means to contemplation and inner illumination. While, however, the philosophers are not speculatively awake as to the problems arising out of the apprehension of Beauty and its expression in Art, it is clear that the fundamental difference in the point of view of Taoism and Confucianism radically affected the character of Chinese art. The Taoist doctrine of setting the centre of one's life right, and letting the circumference look after itself (in other words, of allowing *Tao*, Wisdom, automatically and without emphasis to flow through one's life from its source in the higher nature), set the stamp of unity and simplicity on art. On the other hand, Confucianism, with its ulterior motive of influencing conduct and shepherding the lowly minded by easy stages towards the ultimate recognition of what Taoism began with, painted camouflaged springes to catch woodcocks. Had it dwelt elsewhere than in the East it would have descended to drums and trumpets in the proclamation of salvation. As it was, it only became elaborate and ornate. It is not intended to be suggested here that this difference was deliberate and self-conscious. It was just as spontaneous, immediate and natural as the peculiar cast given to the whole of Western art by its assumption that humanity lives but one life on earth. Its history, so admirably summarised in "Chinese Painters" by Raphael Petrucci, is a long and fascinating story, but beyond the scope of this paper. Its contribution to the philosophy of Beauty is doctrinally negative ; but it gives us a glimpse of that quality to which we have referred as lacking in our survey of Western æsthetics, the quality of life. This is seen in the symbolical vocabulary of Chinese art. To the outsider a mist-capped mountain is no more than "a primrose by the river's brim." To the Chinese eye, clarified by the tradition of ages, it is both mountain-and-mist and a subtle reminder of the development of all life and its qualities (including beauty) and activities (including art) from the interaction of heaven and earth, the condensing of the mists of the celestial realm around the summits of the substantial. After this manner was built up, as Petrucci remarks, "a complete system of allusions...in close touch with Nature, investing her with a vibrant life, in which human consciousness vanishes, making way for the dawning consciousness of infinitude." The introduction of Buddhism into China early in the Christian era, as Western chronology goes, added new matter for the artist, but nothing new for the philosopher. Its unitarianism was familiar to Taoism ; its practicality agreeable to Confucianism.

XII

When Buddhism began to take root in Japan, transplanted from Korea in the second half of the sixth century, Prince Wumayado, its sponsor, united the Buddhist religion and the Confucian ethic. But it was Taoism, which in its earliest form ignored art, that left the most distinctive mark on the æsthetical activity of the land whose characteristic word, as Yone Noguchi says, is Art. The ideas and practices of Indian spiritual disciplines (*Yoga*) had become mixed into the doctrines and ceremonial of Taoism, and when these ultimately found their way from China into Japan, they became part and parcel of the established Buddhism, but distinguished as a sect, the Zen (Indian *dyani*) or contemplative sect. This sect was the favourite of the warrior caste (*samurai*) after the principle, involved in the idea of unity, that the greater the required activity the greater the required contemplation as a means of balance of life. To this following after the ideal of unity Okakura Kakuzo in "Ideals of the East" traces the preference which Zennist art showed for black and white sketches over the elaborate colour art of the classical Buddhist school. We have already noted a similar effect of unity and simplicity from the same source in Chinese painting. The Japanese bent towards beauty of finesse took the matter some degrees further. It made the *doing* of things an æsthetical activity by insisting on deliberate perfection in every detail, since in a unified universe nothing was eligible for greater emphasis than another. Out of this æsthetical attitude arose the most distinctive form of art in Japan, the *Noh* dance with its leisurely perfection of conventional action, voice, music and scenery. Out of it also arose the tea-ceremony with its equally leisurely and perfect application of æsthetical action to the simple process of drinking a cup of tea, accompanied by the beauty of Nature and surrounded by the great Silence. "Taoism," says Okakura, "furnished the basis for æsthetical ideals, Zennism made them practical." Unhappily, from the point of view of æsthetical thought, it did not make them vocal. Here, as in China, æsthetic has to be derived from practice. There are artcanons, but no explications of the principles that underlie the canons.

XIII

The situation in India is the same—and different. Sanskrit scholarship tells of an Indian Philosophy of Beauty and Art as elaborate as, and much more surely founded than, the Æsthetics of Western speculation. But the preoccupations of Indian thought and life for some time past have been engaged on the apparently more important general aspects of philosophy, and the æsthetical has remained in scholastic aloofness. Pending the approaching full disclosure of the Indian æsthetical philosophy, interpreters of India's genius, to whom the esoteric intimacies of Sanskrit scholarship are denied, must needs content themselves with such significant materials as are at their disposal; and these include not only the large body of published works, but also the facts of human psychology. We touch on the latter first. We cannot comprehend Indian philosophy, or any other national or racial expression of the universal philosophical function, if we disregard the distinctive emotional and intellectual qualities and predilections of the human units to whom the vision was vouchsafed, and the human groups in whose now instinctive attitude to life the primal vision is reflected and deflected. Now, if there is one thing that is common to Indians of every location and variety it is their instinctive other-worldliness. Occidental analysis may set out varieties of tribunals in human conduct—moral sanctions, ethical sanctions, business sanctions, social sanctions. India knows but one sanction, the religious; and that, in its deepest sense, is sufficient. The one court of appeal is God; and this God is no thing of "wood and stone," as the distorted exegesis of proselytising occidentalism has it, but the Cosmic Personality in whom reside the potentialities of diversified manifestation, carrying the element of super-personality into every phase of the Cosmic manifestation, from the "other Gods" (which, as the *Taittiriya Upanishad* says, are the "limbs" of Brahman), through humanity and its multiple personalities in phases and moods of individual life, into the natural world of form and substance, at the centre of all of which aggregations of the Universal Life is again Brahman as the Atman or essential spiritual core. "Radiant, stable, energising, sustaining; in Him is all this universe centred, that which has form, and that which is formless." Such is the declaration of the nature of Brahman (the Cosmic Personality) in the *Mundakopanishad*, a declaration at one with the inspired Christian vision of Brahman (God) as That "in which we live and move and have our being." Whatever may be said as to the degree of conscious intelligent recognition of this fundamental conception of the Cosmic Personality by those who worship It under various forms and names (by the "heathen idolator" of physical images, and by the non-heathen idolator of mental and emotional images), it is plain that, just as the fundamental realistic dualism of European thought as to the Cosmic Personality and its relationship to the manifested universe has intervolved itself in European action and art, so the fundamental monism of India has moulded its artistic expression, and produced a national temperamental attitude in which the vision and experience of the seers and thinkers of the Vedic and Vedantic ages are gathered into an intuitional synthesis that sees in all things the One Life, and in the midst of daily detail is always pulled towards it.

XIV

It is from this pull towards the inner life of things that the distinctive attitude of Indian art arises together with the Philosophy of Beauty and the Arts that is involved in it. Nothing is seen as existing in and for itself. Interpretation is its natural mode, symbolism its inevitable vocabulary of expression. And because all life and its activities radiate from one Centre, and in addition to their radial lines establish concentric relationships, there is a natural interchange between the main cultural expressions of India (the devotional, the contemplative and the creative) which leads to overlappings in religion, philosophy and art. These overlappings constitute the inevitable distinctiveness of Indian cultural expression; and a guarantee of their distinctiveness is found in the annoyance that they give to minds reared exclusively in the complementary Western tradition with its emphasis on the external world and its resultant realism and analytical clarity of expression. Says Walter Pater in the chapter on Winckelmann in "The Renaissance," apropos of certain symbolical painters of the European Middle Ages, such as Angelico:

> As in the Middle Age from an exaggerated inwardness, so in the East from a vagueness, a want of definition in thought, the matter presented

to art is unmanageable, and the forms of sense struggle vainly with it. The many-headed gods of the East, the orientalised, many-breasted Diana of Ephesus, like Angelico's fresco, are at best overcharged symbols, a means of hinting at an idea which art cannot fitly or completely express, which still remains in the world of shadows. But take a work of Greek art,—the Venus of Melos. That is in no sense a symbol, a suggestion, of anything beyond its own victorious fairness. The mind begins and ends with the finite image, yet loses no part of the spiritual motive. The motive is not lightly and loosely attached to the sensuous forms, as its meaning to an allegory, but saturates and is identical with it. The Greek mind had passed to a particular stage of self-reflexion, but was careful not to pass beyond it. In oriental thought there is a vague conception of life everywhere, but no true appreciation of itself by the mind, no knowledge of the distinction of man's nature: in its consciousness of itself, humanity is still confused with the fantastic, indeterminate life of the animal and vegetable world.

Our main concern with this passage is its direct contribution to the evolution of Indian æsthetics in its criticism of oriental *thought*, from which springs what Pater regards as the fundamental flaw in Indian art; but there are certain side issues relevant to the main subject which claim passing attention. Is it true that the Venus of Melos "is in no sense a symbol, a suggestion, of anything beyond its own victorious fairness?" It may be so to the critic born into and breathing the arid and devitalised atmosphere of nineteenth century Europe, whose "mind begins and ends with the finite image," yet, by a curious contradiction, is capable of cognising a "spiritual motive" in the image notwithstanding its lack of any suggestion beyond the plastic expression of a beauty that appeals to the critic. The gist of Pater's loosely put statement is that the "spiritual motive" (whatever that may be in Pater's mind) is absolutely coincident with its sculptural expression; and this is just the central fallacy of Pater's criticism. All art is the imposition of something "beyond" on the materials in which the artist works, and through which (as a channel, not a *cul-de-sac*) he conveys his own thoughts and feelings to others capable of responding to them; and the measure of response is the mental and emotional equipment of the spectator, not the mere form or appearance of the stark image. To ask us to see nothing beyond what is avowedly an image (and therefore a symbol) of Divinity, is to ask us to renounce the significance of a geographical or stellar globe, and reduce it to the level of a child's plaything by denuding it of anything beyond its own victorious spherical fairness. The nearest approach to coincidence of motive and expression is in purely representational or photographic art; but even that puts between the image and its counterpart in the mind the fluctuant complex of thought, predilection and emotion which is so far from a standardised stability that it leads one person to regard a portrait as a "living likeness" of the subject and another to regard the same portrait as something not far from caricature. If the Venus of Melos was an image of normal Greek anatomy and physiognomy it would still be but an image of human qualities suggested by certain juxtapositions of lines and surfaces. But it is an image of a Celestial Being, a thing of dumb stone suggesting (not embodying as Pater's impossible *identity* of the Goddess with her image implies) an assumed "victorious fairness" through an elevation of the qualities of the human body beyond the normal. In other words, the "victorious fairness" of the Greek image is victorious just because it is beyond the normal, for if human fairness were normally at the level of the Venus, then would the mere imitation of it in stone be an infantile superfluity, not art. It is, therefore, an artistic exaggeration in order to suggest the supernormal fairness of Divinity. Pater saw the fairness, but his æsthetical rationalism prevented his seeing the Divinity. His criticism of oriental art is based on his own thought, even as Indian art is based on Indian thought. This is a fundamental truth. Its obvious corollary is that judgment of any art-expression is likely to be unreliable if the critic is not in affinity with the thought from which the art-expression under consideration arises. Pater was far from affinity with Indian thought; his judgment of it, and of its expression in art, is, as a consequence, and with all due recognition of his contribution to occidental æsthetics, not only valueless but untrue. His charge of vagueness of conception as regards the Universal Life, of lack of appreciation of its special nature by the mind, of confusion (that is, identification) of human life with the sub-human, is ludicrous in face of the vast (and even in Pater's time accessible) literature of Indian thought, with its crystal-clear recognition of the Cosmic Life as the first principle of sane thinking, its exhaustive exposition of the qualities and phases of the human consciousness (to which Western psychology is slowly climbing), and its plain recognition of the differential qualities and functions of the human unit in relation with the extra-human kingdoms of nature and super-nature. The "vagueness" of Indian thought and art is the natural anthropomorphism of a human being casting the vagueness that is in himself upon that which he contemplates. There *is* some element in Indian thought and art to which Pater gives the reaction of vagueness. What is it?

XV

We have anticipated the answer to the question in our indications of the overlappings that occur in Indian religion, philosophy and art as the natural result of the fundamental intuitive realisation of the universal Cosmic Being, and the radial and concentric relationships thus set up in external expression. Art, to the Indian mind, is not art merely; it is unintelligible save in the light of philosophy, and unmoving save with the warmth of religion; it is therefore at once expressional as art, impersonal as philosophy, and personal as religion. All three elements enter in almost equivalent proportion into the great canonical art of India; and where the art is largely descriptive or self-expressional (as is much of modern Indian painting and sculpture) it seldom, save under non-Indian influence, cuts itself clear of any indication of the enfolding Cosmic life. Indian art practises the Western mystical doctrine of the Perpetual Presence. This is its esoteric affinity with mystical Western art; and because of this affinity, Pater naturally charged the art of India with vagueness and the symbolical art of mystical Europe with an exaggerated inwardness; for (while vagueness does not always signify any special degree of inwardness) the inwardness common to both types of art is certain to throw out of focus, and therefore to give the sense of vagueness, to eyes whose normal focal point is on the surface of things. This is the same thing as saying that mystical art (that is, art which expresses the mystery as distinct from the appearance of things) must necessarily speak interpretatively and therefore in glyphs, and that a symbolical art must naturally be a bother to the flat-minded, who, just as naturally, will demand the simplicity and clarity which they can comprehend, and set up this simplicity and clarity as the standard of true art—a standard which we deny. We deny the presumption of intellectual and emotional limitation to set itself up as the measure of things beyond it. We assert, on the contrary, that the art of the future in the West as in the East, will evolve beyond an infantile simplicity and a spurious clarity as the consciousness of humanity gains "larger glimpses of that more than man," and seeks to express that growing realisation of the Infinite through the finite media of the arts. Where art is interpretative (as the greatest art must always be) it cannot throttle itself with finiteness of expression. Clear conception and expression in the ordinary sense neither conceive nor express, but build a wall devoid of interstices through which might be had a glimpse of the Infinite Reality. If we have a clear idea of the Infinite, we have no idea of It; for the moment the Infinite is made clear, It is made finite. The foregoing considerations yield up the first principles of Indian æsthetics, to wit, that Beauty and Art (whatever be our temporary and local valuations of them) are essentially related, though superficially diverse, expressions of qualities and activities inherent in the Cosmic Being, which Cosmic Being includes nature and human nature within Itself, and in Its universal penetration of Its own details sets up an essential affinity and response between the details and the Totality.

XVI

But this Cosmic Being is no impersonal abstraction. It is beyond that particular human limitation which is called personality ; but the existence of that personality in human conception is the warrant of its inclusion in the Cosmic Being. The personality within us is a reflection of the personal element in the Cosmic Being. "The self-existent (that is, the Brahman of the Cosmos and the Atman of the individual) created the outgoing senses......by It alone one knows form, taste, smell, sound, touch, sex......As fire, though one, having entered the world, takes a separate form (as fire) in respect of every form (that is, the particular fire-limitation such as the fire of the lightning and the fire in a log of timber), so does the internal Atman (or individual share of the universal Brahman) of all living things assume a form (of expression) for every form (of limitation), and is outside all forms" (*Kathopanishad*). These phrases from the ancient scriptures of India express the unity in variety of the Divine Personality, and indicate the rationale of their intercommunication. Sri Sankaracharya, in his commentary on the *Taittiriya Upanishad*, declares that the very being of the Self (Brahman) is eternal Bliss, and that the pleasures of the senses are fragmentary expressions of that fundamental condition of the Cosmic Being. The response between Totality and detail is made by the way of the *koshas* (or sheaths of the *Atman*, or, to put it in modern terms, differential ganglia within the individual, such as the cerebral and solar ganglia), which are energised by the Cosmic Being, and express themselves in the external world after their own manner. The *annamayakosha* (or physical sheath) expresses the pleasure of sense, the *pranamayakosha* (or vital sheath) expresses the pleasure of energy; the *manomayakosha* (or mental sheath) expresses the pleasure of cognition; the *vijnanamayakosha* (or intuitional sheath) expresses the pleasure of reflection; and the *anandamayakosha* (or bliss sheath) expresses the direct pleasure of spiritual existence. According to the *Vedanta Sutras*, these centres of response and radiation in the human entity are to be visualised as concentric spheres, the *anandamayakosha* being the core through which the Cosmic Being permeates the vehicles of Its expression in humanity, the *vijnanamayakosha* being the Brahman within the individual, the *manomayakosha* being the personal self. Through these come the great expressions of the arts (as also of religion and philosophy), and their common characteristic is their sharing in the permeating Bliss of the Divine Personality. In other words, Indian thought gives the element of æsthetical pleasure first place in its differentiation of human function and expression. Pleasure is the test of everything at its own level, physical, rational or creative, but it is a pleasure that is for ever under the eye of its own divinity, and ever drawn towards it out of the transitory states of fluctuant consciousness called pleasure and pain to their transmutation and unification in the *ananda* (bliss). Bliss is the eternal condition of the Cosmic Being and the natural destiny of Its manifold differentiation through space and time, identity and form, in humanity and nature. Art is man's creative reaction to the touch of the Cosmic Bliss through the bliss-body within himself: its value is according to its measure of ability to express that bliss and impart it to others. Where the pleasure in the creations of art is touched with the nostalgia of the spirit, calling the creator or the appreciator homewards towards his true centre, these creations of art are called beautiful. This is the second group of fundamental principles of Indian æsthetics.

XVII

Let us carry our study to a further stage of definition. We have seen that the basis of Indian æsthetical thought is the recognition of a Universal Life, between Whom and humanity the nexus of interchange and response is the element of personality which is in both. Sri Krishna, teaching Arjuna the mystery of creation in the *Bhagavad Gita* does not limit Himself to abstractions or impersonalities such as energy and substance, but declares that He has pervaded the universe with a fragment (or portion) of *Himself* (X. 42). This pervasion of the manifested universe by the Divine Life is emphasised in the analysis of His own qualities and functions which Sri Krishna gives Arjuna in reply to the latter's request for an exposition of the Divine aspects so that, by meditation on these, he may approach to knowledge of the Divine Teacher (Gita, Chapter X). One stanza (41) says: "Whatsoever is...... ..beautiful......understand thou that to go forth from a fragment (or vestige) of my splendour." Here is a clear statement of what we may take as the Indian conception of the source of Beauty. That splendour from which beauty comes forth is not an embroidered cloak flung from the shoulder of the Divine Being; though cognised as a quality, the cognition is not separative, for in the same chapter (stanza 36) Sri Krishna establishes the identity of Himself and the quality that is the base of Beauty in the phrase: "I am the splendour of splendid things." Beauty, then, we may define, in the view of Indian æsthetics, as a quality emanating from and permeated with the radiant Life of the Cosmic Being. It is not an invention of the human mind. Neither is it the aloof transcendental entity of Plato; for that Being pervades all

Its manifestations; in It there are no separations; but in Its universal pervasion It sets up an essential affinity and response between every atom and between every congeries of consciousness within the æonian process of evolution amongst the details of the Totality; and this view solves the æsthetical problem of the interaction between the perceiver of beauty, the beautiful object, and the beauty that is perceived; this view also anticipates and confirms the æsthetical speculations of the trinitarians who, as a matter of fact, as indicated earlier in this study, derived their inclusiveness of vision from the Eastern element that had found its way into the philosophy of Plotinus, as well as from their own studies in oriental thought.

XVIII

Beauty being of Divine origin, Art, its embodiment, shares its august parentage. This is the æsthetical logic of the matter, and Indian literature puts it into symbolical and personal form in various stories. The *Vishnudharmottaram*, in its chapters on art (now widely accessible through the English translation recently published under the editorship of Dr. Stella Kramrisch), tells of God Narayana drawing a beautiful maiden on his body in order to take the pride out of certain celestial dancing maidens (*apsarasas*). The picture was endowed with life, and became Urvasi, the supreme type of feminine beauty. The *Chitralakshana* tells of a king being ordered by Brahma to paint the portrait of the dead son of a Brahmin, in which form the God restored the son to the father. The *Dwarkalila* tells how a princess, as the result of a dream, caused her maiden, Chitralekha, to paint portraits of Gods and men in order that she might identify her vision. The dream youth turned out to be the grandson of Krishna. The burden of these myths of inner verities (as of others in relation to drama and music) is that the arts are not simply the expression of the cultural ascension of humanity, but are reactions in human limitation to an impulse from the higher degrees of Cosmic and human life. Their logical interrelationship (the source of the overlapping interpreted as vagueness to which we have already referred) is specifically set out in the *Vishnudharmottaram* (Part III, Ch. 2, stanzas 1 to 9). Vajra asks for information as to the making of images, "so that the Deity may remain always close by, and may have an appearance according to the shastras." Markendya replies that the rules of sculpture and painting must be studied before the characteristics of images can be discerned; nor can painting be known without knowledge of the science of dancing nor dancing without music; nor music without singing—which is equivalent to poetry: hence it comes about that Indian images have both their sculpturesque, literatesque and rhythmical aspects.

And since Beauty and Art are of Divine origin, they, consciously or unconsciously in the artists, serve the purpose of the Divine Will. Where they lead away from that Will (in suggestions of false relationships in life and death, of evil, of low satisfactions, of spurious vision, of irreverence) they range themselves with the temporary and achieve only morality; but where, as says the *Vishnudharmottaram*, works of art "cleanse and curb anxiety, augment good, give high and pure delight, cancel the evil of false dreams, and please God," or, as it is synoptically put in the same classic of Indian art, where works of art are "conducive to *dharma* and *moksha* (the fulfilment of the Cosmic Will in one's own life and the attainment of spiritual freedom), they have set themselves in the direction of the Divine Will and have already achieved artistic immortality. This is the pragmatic test which Indian æsthetics applies to works of art.

XIX

From these æsthetical principles the Indian Philosophy of Beauty and its expression in the Arts elaborates itself, and its future exegesis will elucidate and correct Western æsthetics, and lay the foundations of a future Synthetical Philosophy of Beauty. It will disclose, as Western æsthetics has evolved, its unitarian, dualistic and trinitarian aspects; and, as in Western æsthetics, it will probably be the trinitarians, with their inclusive vision of the constituents of the æsthetical problem, who will give the ultimately satisfying answer (if such is possible to beings in a relative state of existence) to the question, "What is Beauty, and its associates, Truth and Goodness?" Schiller regarded Beauty as disinterested action, and Goodness as action for results. Indian æsthetics, based on the Trimurti of expression—Saivite mentality, Vaisnavite emotion, and universal *tapas* (action)—declares that the One Life, permeating all its self-manifestation, is, in its external phases, perceived mentally as Truth, emotionally as Beauty, actively as Goodness. That is why, in a general but not exclusive sense, the subtlest and most elaborated speculations of India as to the nature of thing have evolved themselves mainly through the Saivite *kosha*, and why the spirit of artistic devotion to the Divine Personality have expressed themselves mainly (and again we must say, but not exclusively, for Indian philosophy knows nothing exclusive) through the Vaisnavite *kosha*. Shiva, the Maha-Yogi, the Maha-Guru, teaches Truth in its Cosmic relationship; Krishna, the Preceptor of Arjuna, teaches Truth in its personal relationship both as regards Divinity and humanity. The Dance of Shiva maintains the Cosmic activity without which manifestation is impossible. The Dance and Leela of Krishna stir the heart of the devotee to the divine joy that in its culmination of ecstasy lifts the devotee to the realisation of the Divine Life. Both are in essence one, though differential in expression, the fundamental interrelated activity of the One *Atman* (Brahman). In that interrelation, carried into detail, we have the clue to the æsthetical problem of the nature and relationship of Truth, Beauty and Goodness. Keats, the English poet, in a moment of deep vision declared, "Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty, that is all ye know on earth, and all ye need to know." In this illuminated, though partial, statement he recognised the inner identity of the cognitive and feeling functions of humanity. Indian philosophy completes the statement by declaring that there is Truth not only in mentality but also Truth in Beauty and in Goodness; that there is Beauty not only in artistic expression but also in thought and deed; that there is Goodness not only in activity, but also in the mind and in the heart. That is why the saints and seers of India have always been artists and why the artists have always been saints—from the unknown painters of Ajanta two thousand years ago to the world-known poet of Bengal to-day, Tagore, who, as artist, stands supreme amongst the greatest, as seer and saint is recognised by the wise of all communities, as activist makes world pilgrimages in the service of true education and human comradeship. Says the *Vishnudharmottaram*, "An artist......should begin work......with his face towards the east, thinking of God....clad in a white garment and restrained in his soul." Thus, in the activity of art, the devotional, the mental and the æsthetical elements in human nature are brought into their natural co-operation. To the true Indian artist there is no place for the so-called religious neutrality which to-day, under non-Indian imposition, makes Indian education both inartistic and irreligious. Religion, in the Indian sense, as we derive it from the foregoing considerations, is the active synthesis of the devotional, contemplative and expressional functions of humanity. A passage from the *Vishnudharmottaram* gives classical ratification to this identification of religion and art.

"Vajra said: 'The Supreme God has been described as devoid of form, smell and emotion, and destitute of sound and touch: how, then, can a form of Him be made?'"

"Markendya replied: '*Prakriti* (universal substance) and *Vikriti* (the transformations of that substance) came into existence through variation in the form of the Supreme Soul. That form of Him, which is scarcely to be seen, was called *Prakriti* (that is, Nature is the body of God). The universe (in its elaborations) if the *vikriti* of Him when endowed with form. Worship and meditation of the Supreme Being are possible only when He is endowed with form......But the highest condition of the Supreme Soul is to be imagined without form."

Thus the inexorable rationalism of Indian thought cuts down to the roots of Truth and declares, on the one hand, the impossibility of approach to realisation of the Divine Being without the aid of the images of art, and, on the other hand, the inability of art to go beyond the realm of form which is its proper *kosha* for its expression. Voicing this hoary tradition in our own time, Swami Vivekananda declared that no one could be truly religious who had not the faculty of feeling the beauty and grandeur of art; and Rabindranath declares Art to be humanity's response to the touch of the Supreme Person. The passage quoted above declares not only the necessity of the images of art in religious worship, but declares also their limitation; and in doing so shows in its true light (or, rather, darkness) the attitude of certain phases of proselytism towards what it is pleased to regard as heathen superstition and idolatry; and shows also that wherever over attachment to external forms may exist in the religious life of India, its rectification is not in a mere change from its own physical images to the mental images of strangers, but in a return to its own traditional conception of the Cosmic Personality as not only immanent in the details of Its manifestation, but also beyond them. Indian art is an interpretative and therefore symbolical analysis of the externalised phases of the Cosmic Being which yet remains unmanifest, *Parabrahman*. Sri Sankaracharya, in his commentary on the *Taittiriya Upanishad* says: "A symbol is an effort of or an emanation from Brahman, and as such it forms a fit object on which the contemplation of the Supreme may be hung." And in order, one would almost think, to make the correction of Indian æsthetics in relation to the possible false charge that the Indian user of a symbolical image for the contemplation of the Supreme, foolishly supposed that image to be the Supreme in His reality and entirety, he adds: "......For instance, the small salagrama stone is regarded as the Supreme—as Vishnu, as Shiva, and so on; *but not* vice versa."

Thus does the application of the principles of Indian Æsthetics rectify error in the inevitable interrelationship of religion and art. It ratifies and illuminates the intuition of the poet in his identification of Truth and Beauty. It gives its assent to his implication (in the words "all ye *know*...... and all ye need to *know*") that our relationship with the mental formulæ that we call Truth and the æsthetical experiences that we call Beauty are unified in a state of inner cognition that is diffused through both yet is deeper than either; for all activities as says Sri Sankaracharya (*Tatitiriya Upanishad*), "invariably presuppose a state of mind called *prajna* (consciousness").

In a sentence, the development and application of the Indian Philosophy of Beauty and Art will give to the intuitions of the artists, and the fumblings of wanderers from inadequate premisses to erroneous conclusions, means to a more complete and convincing exposition and understanding of æsthetical truth than the evolution of philosophy outside India has hitherto evolved, or appears to be capable of evolving.

(*Concluded.*)

JAMES H. COUSINS.

SCOTTISH CHAUCERIAN POETS

V.—THE POETIC LORD LION KING-AT-ARMS

"In the glances of his eye
A penetrating keen and sly
Expression found its home;
The flash of that satiric rage
Which, bursting on the early stage,
Branded the vices of the age,
And broke the keys of Rome."

Marmion IV. vv.

It is by an anachronism that Scott introduces Sir David Lyndsay into Marmion in the year 1513 as Lord Lion King-at-Arms, for he did not attain the high position of chief of the heralds of Scotland until 1530. In Scott's novels and poetic romances strict adherence to historic chronology had to go to the wall whenever it threatened to prevent him from giving a brilliant picture of a fictitious incident that appealed to his imagination. Therefore, he did not scruple to devise the meeting in Saltoun Wood between Marmion and Sir David Lyndsay, who as Lion King makes a fine colour picture on his milk-white palfrey with silk hoisings, embroidered round and round with Scotland's arms, device and crest.

"So bright the King's armorial coat,
That scarce the dazzled eye could note
In living colours blazoned brave
The Lion, which his title gave."

Lyndsay is represented as telling Marmion that his mission of peace was hopeless, for a messenger from heaven had already vainly warned James IV against making war upon England. The strange story of this heavenly message is told by Pitscottie and is probably derived from the evidence of Lyndsay and John Inglis, the Marshal, who were both with James IV in Linlithgow Church when the heavenly messenger is said to have appeared. According to the story, the apparition was in the form of the apostle John, who

"stepped before the monarch's chair
And stood with rustic plainness there
And little reverence made."

When he had delivered his solemn warning, a vain attempt was made to detain him, but he vanished mysteriously, says Pitscottie, "as he had been one blink of the sun or one whiff of the whirlwind."

After the battle of Flodden, Lyndsay seems to have been put in charge of the infant prince, James V. In this capacity he did not think it derogatory to his dignity to play with the child and carry him in his arms like a nurse. In *The Dreme* he reminds the King how he often looked after him with the tenderness of a nurse or a mother:

"When thou was young, I bore thee in mine arm
Full tenderly till thou begouth to gang;
And in thy bed oft happit thee full warm,
With lute in hand, syne sweetly to thee sang:
Sometime in dancing fierily I flang
And sometime playing farces on the floor."

He lovingly remembers how the infant used to struggle to pronounce his name and addressed him as "Pa, Da, Lyn," evidently childish abbreviations for "Papa, David, Lyndsay":

"The first syllables that thou did mute
Was PA, DA, LYN; upon the lute,
Then played I twenty springs perqueir."

He even mentions by the name of *Gym-Kartoun* the tune that the little prince always loved best. When James grew to manhood, he never forgot the kindness of the companion of his boyhood, but always held him in high respect and great affection. He seemingly showed no resentment when Lyndsay, in his verse, warned him against the faults to which Stuart Kings were specially prone, implored him for at least half an hour a day to study the "regiment of princely governing," and reminded him that he held his Kingdom as a vassal to the King of Kings, that he was "but an instrument to that great King Omnipotent." Above all it must have been owing to the King's favour that Lyndsay's scathing exposure of the abuses of the Roman Catholic Church was not punished by excommunication or even by death at the stake. His immunity is the more remarkable as James V and his wife Mary of Guise were so strongly opposed to the spread of the Reformation in Scotland.

We cannot expect to find in the works of Lyndsay any more than in the political and religious poems of Dryden, passages of high imaginative beauty. As compared with Dunbar, Lyndsay's address to the King are generally intended to promote the common good of the nation and not the personal interests of the writer. Lyndsay as a man of good birth and property was not so dependent on the royal bounty as his predecessor. Instead of the humiliating petitions for doles that Dunbar is constrained to make, Lyndsay when he asks for promotion, does so in a dignified manner and instructs the King how to manage his realm. It is reasonable to suppose that his good advice was not without effect in inducing James V to quell the license of the turbulent nobles and earn for himself the honourable title of the Commons' King?

In religious matters it has been well said that Lyndsay stands to Knox in the Scottish Reformation in the same relation as Erasmus stood to Luther in the general Reformation.

He did not leave the Roman Catholic Church but contented himself with attacking the vices of the clergy, their hypocrisy, covetousness and licentiousness. He does not forbear to give the due meed of praise to associations of the old church which lived in accordance with their professions, for instance to the convent of St. Katharine of Scienna in Edinburgh, within whose walls Chastity seeks a safe refuge in his poem called the *Complaynt of the King's Papingo.* His attitude to the images of the saints of the Virgin is characteristic of his wise spirit of moderation. He happily describes images as the books of the unlearned, by looking at which they are reminded of the persecutions that holy men endured for the faith. But he does not find in the Gospel any justification for making prayers even to the twelve apostles. In condemning the idolatrous worship of idols he gives a striking picture of what might be seen in his time in old Edinburgh:

> "Of Edinburgh the great idolatry
> And manifest abomination
> On their feast day all creatures may see:
> They an auld stock image through the town,
> With tabrone, trumpet, shawm, and clarion,
> Which has been used many a year begone
> With priests and friars into procession,
> Such like as Bell was borne through Babylon."

The "auld stock image" was the life-size statue of St. Giles which was borne in procession together with the saint's arm-bone every year on his feast day, September 1st, until 1558. On this last procession the "marmouset idol," as Knox calls it, was honoured for a time by the presence of the Queen Dowager and immediately she departed the mob made an attack on the clergy who bore the image. Another Edinburgh superstition was the belief in the Hermit of Loretto, to whom the blind and lame went for cure. Pilgrimages generally were disgraced by abominable license. Lyndsay implores married men not to allow their wives and daughters to go to them, if they have any regard for their honesty.

Like Chaucer, he exposes the shameless trickery of the pardoners. Lyndsay's pardoner in the *Three Estates* finds that his nefarious trade is injuriously affected by the translation of the Bible. Therefore, he would give to the Devil gladly this "wicked New Testament with them that translated it," and wishes that Saint Paul had never been born, and that his books were never read in the kirk. Among his strange assortment of relics are the tail of Saint Bride's cow, and the snout of St. Anthony's sow that bore his holy bell.

> "Who ever he be hears this bell clink,
> Give me a ducat for to drink,
> He shall never gang to hell."

Full remission is promised by means of these relics even though the sinners have no contrition. A graphic account is given of the law's delays in the ecclesiastical courts. A poor man relates how he ran to the Consistory to get damages for his mare that a neighbour had drowned. He relates the result of his complaint as follows:

> "They gave me first ane thing they call *Citendum*,
> Within aucht days I gat but *Lybellandum*,
> Within ane month I gat *ad Opponendum*,
> In half ane yeir I gat *interloquendum*
> And syne I gat, how call ye it? *ad replicandum*:
> Bot I could never ane word yit understand him."

And so on for two or three years until all his money was spent, when

> "Of *Pronunciandum* they made me wonder fain;
> Bot I got never my gude gray mare again."

But the worst of these courts was the ruthlessness with which they exercised their terrible powers of excommunication and burning at the stake.

"Of puir transgressors ye have no pity,
But cry to put them to confusion;
As cried the Jews for the effusion
Of Christ's blood in their burning ire.
Crucifige, so ye with one union
Cry 'Ey! gar cast that faltour (sinner) in the fire."

Therefore, in *The Dreme*, when he enters Hell, Lyndsay finds there

"mony careful Cardinal,
And Archbishops in their pontifical,
Proud and perverse Prelates, out of number,
Priors, Abbots and false flattering Friars"

and he even ventures to add that there were "diverse Popes" among the damned.

It has sometimes been said that the Reformation took all the life, colour, and mirth out of Scottish life and there is a grain of truth in the reflection. Certainly the Ministers of the Reformed Church would not countenance the uproarious mirth of *Christ's Kirk at the Greek* or of *Peblis to the Play* and the wild-pranks played at Holyrood in the reign of James IV as described in the poems of Dunbar. Even at the present day, in spite of the picture houses in our cities and larger towns, Scotland takes her pleasures sadly, and generally proscribes even harmless amusements on Sunday afternoons.

Presbyterianism is no doubt responsible for excessive sabbatarianism and has given a strain of dourness to our national character. But such drawback can have little weight in the balance compared with the utter demoralization of the spiritual leaders of the country as portrayed by an impartial and moderate observer like Lyndsay. When the spiritual light in the country was darkness, how great must that darkness have been!

MICHAEL MACMILLAN

AN EVENING AT THE KASTAHARINI GHAT (MONGHYR)

[Popular tradition of the district of Monghyr points to Seeta Kund, the famous hot-spring, as the place where Seeta Devi, wife of Ramchandra, emerged unscathed from the ordeal by fire and thus disarmed the faintest suspicion as to her character during her long captivity in Lanka (Ceylon), the island-kingdom of the demon-king Ravana. It is said that on her way to the place of ordeal, Seeta Devi rested at the Kastaharini Ghat, the famous bathing place at Monghyr. The scenery was so charming that after a bath in the Ganges, she forgot her mental anguish. The Ghat thenceforth became known by its present name—'Kasta'—pain and 'Harini' one who robs of.]

It was a lovely eve—on Ganges bank
I sat alone; before me slowly sank
The red sun, glowing as an orb of fire—
And like the dying flashes of a funeral pyre,
Upon the waters played his lingering beams,
Awakening in my mind sad memory's dreams
Of faces dear, alas! now seen no more,
Long crossed life's ocean for a blissful shore.

The crescent moon was up, but creeping night
Around me spread her pale and dimmed my sight.
A tiny bark was gliding slowly by,
With fluttering sails like dancing spirits shy,
With fancies wild my brain was over-wrought,
And of the riddle of life and death, I thought
Of clouds and sunshine, chequered hopes and fears,
Of fleeting dreams of life, love's smiles and tears.

So crowded many a vision o'er my mind
My bleeding heart poured I to the gentle wind—
I heard a voice faint whispering in the air,
"Why moanest thou, my child, O! why despair?

This is the holy spot, where hapless I,
Abandoned by my lord, once wished to die,
To him devoted true, quite pure and chaste,
Still he flung me o'er life's dark, dreary waste.
Struck down by wounded heart, bereft of love,
Oh ! here to die, I prayed to Heaven above.

" This spot soon robbed me of my grief and pain
And *Ganga* gave me mental peace again.
O, when thy life becomes a burden to bear
Thou wish'st to heal thy pain and wipe thy tear,
Thy sighs to hush, thy weary bosom cheer,
Thy cares to drown, O, then, my child come here."

C. C. MUKHERJI

RAMAI PANDIT

Those scholars who hold that the age of the Çunyapuran, or to be more accurate, that of Ramai Pandit, its author,[1] has been definitely determined require to be told in all humility that the grounds which they generally advance with regard to this point do not strictly warrant their conclusions. Regarding the time of Ramai Pandit it is said that positive light is thrown on this problem by the statement made in some of the Dharmamangal poems (that by Ghana Ram, for example) that he was the preceptor of Ranjavati, mother of Lausen and sister-in-law of Dharmapal, the emperor of Gauḍa, who has been identified by Mr. N. N. Basu,[2] with Dharmapal, mentioned in the Tirumalai inscription of the year 1025 A.D., as having been killed in a battle by King Rajendra Chola of the South. Let us pause for a moment and examine the historical value of this evidence. Nowhere, in the whole Çunyapuran, is there any reference whatsoever to the emperor of Gauḍa, described in the Dharmamangal Literature and nowhere to Rani Ranjavati or to her son, the great hero, Lausen. The only king, that is mentioned is Harichandra and we have in the Çunyapuran, a somewhat detailed account of the worship of Dharma, as performed by Harichandra and his queen, moved by the object of getting the boon of a son from this god. Now, if as it is alleged, there were any real connection between Ramai Pandit and Ranjavati, or in other words if the Pandit and the Gaudyan Emperor were contemporaneous with each other, was it not very natural and reasonable that the author of the Çunyapuran, should have made some allusion, at least, to his services as preceptor to the mother of Lausena, the nephew of the emperor of Gauḍa? For, his mission was to bring about a great religious upheaval amongst the masses and he never neglected to avail himself of any royal patronage, if possible, as is clearly proved by the detailed notice of his personal activities in connection with Râja Harichandra's worship of Dharma. And, certainly Dharmapal was a greater and more influential man than Harichandra possibly could be? But Ramai Pandit is significantly silent on this point. Secondly, anybody[1] who cares to study the Çunyapuran, side by side with any one of the Dharmamangal poems, the earliest of which is admittedly later than the former, cannot but bear us out that Ramai Pandit preserves for us a picture of the earlier stage in the growth and development of the Dharma cult, struggling against various popular beliefs and practices and that the latter works give us the portrait of a more recent age in the history of the cult. The two periods are distinctly related to each other in the same logical manner as the past is related to the present and the present to the future.

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[1] Such expressions as the following are very common—

" শ্রীধর্ম্মচরণারবিন্দে করিআ পণতি।
শ্রীজুত রামাই কঅ সুন রে ভারতী॥ 3.

The Çunyapurana, edited by Mr. N. N. Vasu and published from the Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta.

[2] *Ibid* Introduction, pp. 24-26. He depends too much on genealogical records, which are not accessible to us and the reliability of which has been very often questioned. Mr. Basu says that the 'so-called' Dharmapala II, who is mentioned in these records as making gifts of lands to Brahmins, must have been a Hindu himself, a fact which is responsible for the omission of his name in Taranath's account. But it was very common with the Pala kings to make such grants to Brahmins whom they openly patronised. Following his trend of argument we could say that Dharmapala, the Second Pala Emperor was a Hindu, as is proved by his grant of land recorded in the Khalimpur inscription.

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[1] After writing this paper, I read Jogesh Chandra Roy's article on the Çunyapuran published in the Sahitya Parishat Patrika, 4th vol., 1316 B. S., where happily I found him in agreement with this view, but his conclusions in other matters are widely different from mine and they are not really connected with my subject. He shows that there are several successive stages in the composition of the Çunyapurana itself. To this I agree, but his standpoint is philological, which can be examined by those who are in a position to do so. Independently, it can be proved that there are at least three well-marked strata in the work, belonging to three different periods in our history.—In the earliest and, therefore, original form, great stress was laid on অহিংসা and purity of worship. The second stage is marked by exotic influences, for example, animals are sacrificed in honour of Dharma Thakur. The third stage is marked by the introduction of such ideas as are to be found in the concluding portion of the book which we also find in Sahadeva Chakravarty's work.

Ramai Pandit is found associated with the earlier age, with the beginnings of the cult, its necessary work of systematisation and readjustment fitting in with the religious outlook of his time. The acceptance of this cult by the emperor of Gauḍa was a later event, reckoned as its highest achievement and the subject-matter of the Dharmamangala literature is in essence, the story of how this culmination was attained, through great struggles and obstacles, the indomitable spirit of Lausen ultimately triumphing over all. My contention is that the chief figure in the Çunyapuran is Harichandra while the chief actor in the drama of events related in the Mangal literature is Lausen, nephew of Dharmapal, the emperor of Gauḍa. It is to be noted also that the sage Markandeya figures (which is after all a fiction) as the preceptor of Ranjavati in the work by Manik Ganguli who flourished in the 16th century. This is important, inasmuch as it proves that Ramai Pandit has not been unanimously mentioned by the whole host of Dharmamangal poets upon whose evidences much reliance has been placed in considering his date. We cannot also rely on the testimony of the Dharmapuja Bidhan, published by the Sahityaparishat of Calcutta, a work rightly admitted by some scholars to be a very late production, showing the extent to which orthodoxy can go in its endeavour to sweep away all historical traditions. The historical figure of Ramai Pandit must be detached from all later associations imposed on him which are all fictitious and imaginary. It is not strange that common people should ascribe every great attainment in the history of a movement to its originator or its greatest champion. But should this poetical attitude mislead us in drawing our conclusions? Regarding the date of Ramai Pandit, this much can be said with certainty that he was a contemporary of king Harichandra as is proved by the internal evidence of the Çunyapuran. Harichandra's account has found its place in all the Dharmamangal poems but with manifest exaggerations and absurdities, which does not agree with the original picture given by Ramai Pandit. If any name is useful in the determination of Ramai Pandit's age, it is the single name of King Harichandra. But who is this Harichandra, referred to in the Çunyapuran? We know of one Harischandra of Eastern Bengal, but opinions vary as to the date of this king.[1] Taranath, the Tibetan historian, names a Buddhistic king of Bengal named Harichandra.[2] "Taranath[2] relates only partially the history of Magadha under the Chandra-Pal-Sen dynasties, one of which rose immediately after the other. It was in Bengal that king Harichandra, who began the royal line of Chandras appeared ....Though the royal family of the Chandras was still powerful there was no longer any member of it as king. In Odivisa, in Bengal and in the five provinces of the East, each Kshatriya, Brahman and merchant constituted himself, king of his surrounding. But there was no king ruling the country." Next follows the familiar history of the revolution which ended in the installation of Gopal, the founder of the Pal Dynasty, on the throne of Bengal. Taranath's chronological system is apparently faulty but he gives us the tradition of a king named Harichandra and it seems from his account that there is a real connection between the Chandra dynasty of East Bengal and this Harichandra, who did not, as Taranath says, belong to the period preceding the establishment of the Pal dynasty but most probably flourished during its declining period. Next, in the songs known as Gopichandrer[3] Gan or Manikchandrer Gan, it is stated that Prince

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[1] The 'Notes on Sabhar, the Traditional Capital of Raja Harishchandra' by Harendra Nath Ghosh, B.A., reprinted from the 'Dacca Review' with additional notes by N. K. Bhattasali, M.A.

[2] Taranath's account of the Magadha kings, translated from Vassilief's work on Buddhism by Miss E. Lyall, pp. 361-67, the Indian Antiquary, Vol. II. The author agrees that in this account names of rulers are probably preserved without any chronological sense. The name of Srichandra is also mentioned in connection with the history of the Chandra Dynasty.

[3] Gopichandra, 1st volume, published by the Calcutta University.

Gopichandra married Aduna and Paduna, the two daughters of Raja Harichandra (also mentioned as Harischandra). There are strong reasons in support of the identification of this Gopichandra, known as 'Vanger Gossain' with Raja Govindachandra described in the Tirumalai inscriptions as king of Vangāl desha, who sustained a heavy defeat at the hands of Rajendra Chola, the invader of Bengal, in about 1025 A.D. It is relevant to remark that the Harichandra of the Manikchandrer Gan, the Harichandra of the Çunyapuran and the Harichandra of Taranath may not be three separate persons but one and the same.

On the strength of these data let us now try to arrive at some conclusion with regard to the probable date of Ramai Pandit. There is one definite point, *viz.*, 1025 A.D., about which we can be absolutely sure, in which year Rajendra Chola is said to have defeated Gopichandra, the son-in-law of Harichandra. In the Gopichandrer Gan, recovered by Babu Bisweswar Bhattacharyya, B.A.,[2] we are told how a battle was fought between king Govindachandra and a South Indian king in which the former is said to have come out victor. In the present case it is immaterial for us to know who the victor was and which of the rival parties was defeated. What is, however, pertinent to the subject under discussion, is the fact of the fight having been fought between the two princes in about 1025 A.D., the 13th regnal year of Rajendra Chola. Now we know that Gopichandra became a sanyasi at the age of 19 and lived the life of an ascetic for 12 years. The battle was fought after his return from sanyas, *i.e.*, it could not have been fought before he reached

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[1] Another member of the Chandra Dynasty, mentioned by Taranath is Govichandra (Ind. Ant., Vol. II). He is described as having been somehow connected with Bhartrihari. In the Hindi version of Gopichandra's tale (for he enjoyed an extensive fame and is the hero of many non-Bengali poems. See Typical Selections, Vol. I, Intro., pp. 20-22) Bhartrihari's name is associated with Govichandra.

[2] The Gopichandra, II volume—which is in the Press.

his 30th year. In 1025 A.D., the year of the battle, recorded in the Tirumalai inscription, his age was not less than 30. This brings us to the year 1025 − 12=1013 A.D., when he was 19 years of age. His mother Mainamati was already an old woman in 1013 A.D.[1] She had long been an associate of Hari Siddha in her religious life,—probably for many years, even during the life-time of her husband Manikchandra, who died in about 994 A.D. When the posthumous son Gopichandra was born, Mainamati was a worshipper of Dharma[2] but already the cult had lost much of its original purity, which we find reflected in the Çunyapuran, and had come to be mixed up with obscure Yogic practices and miraculous performances of the Siddhas. On these grounds we are inclined to hold that there was at least a distance of 30 years, between the death of Ramai Pandit and 1013 A.D., when Mainamati was well advanced in age, so that Ramai Pandit died not later than 983 A.D. There is a tradition that he lived up to 80. If so, his life extended roughly from 900 to 980 A.D. Ramai Pandit had no connection with the so-called Dharmapal II.

Against the identity of Dharmapal of the Dharma Literature with the Dharmapal of the Tirumalai inscription[3] one damaging objection can be raised, *viz.*, that the former is described as the emperor of Gauḍa, while the latter as the king of Tandabutti or Dandabutti, identified by Mr. R. D. Banerjee[1] with Datan in the Midnapore district. Secondly, we do not understand what direct relation could exist between this so-called Dharmapal II and the ruling dynasty of the Palas or what justification is there for accepting him as a Pala emperor in the face of the fact that his name occurs nowhere in the list of the Pala emperors of Gauḍa. Their chronology, thanks to the labours of epigraphists, has been almost definitely fixed, hardly admitting of any new name found out accidentally. In short his name does not agree with the authenticated chronological frame-work of the Palas. Thirdly, it was not Dharmapal who represented the Pal dynasty, at the time of Rajendra Chola's famous invasion of Bengal, but Mahipal, of extensive popular fame, who has been described in a Sanskrit drama, entitled the Chandakausika as having inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Karnata people who have been identified with the followers of Rajendra Chola. How then can the Dharmapal of the Tirumalai inscription be represented as identical with the emperor of Gauḍa, mentioned in the Dharma Mangala literature? All that can be said is that he was a local chief of Dandabutti, having no such family or dynastic traditions as disclosed in the Dharmamangal literature. Sometime ago it was believed that this Dharmapal of our literature was none other than Dharmapal of the Khalimpur inscription and that his son Devapal and Lausen were contemporaneous with each other.[2] But we do not want to discuss the merits of this identification as it is no longer in favour with those who proposed it. The political condition of Bengal, described in this Mangal literature strikingly corresponds with that of the later period of Pal history, later even, than that on which much light has been thrown by Sandhyakar Nandi's[1] memoir of Ramapal. The emperor of Gauḍa with all his traditions of immense political power and glory, with ambitious dynastic claims to the overlordship of Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Utkal and Kamrupa, which have now become empty and unsubstantial with the disappearance of the intrinsic strength and greatness that once made them realities, depending for the success of his expeditions against the recalcitrant Rajas of the neighbouring countries on the doubtful support of an array of subordinate chiefs, the *Samanta-chakra* of Sandhyakar Nandi—this is the picture of Dharmapal that we get from our study of the Dharmamangal literature. It would be mere speculation to theorise about the identity of Dharmapal, a creation of fiction and truth with an unquestioned preponderance of the former, a picture in which fond traditions of the earlier period are inextricably mixed up with those of the declining age of Pal supremacy. It is our strong conviction that the real name of the emperor of Gauḍa, described by the Dharmamangal poets, has not been mentioned but the name 'Dharmapal' has been given to him,—Dharmapal, the second member of the Pal dynasty, who was the most famous of all the emperors of Gauḍa, that soul-stirring name which people even in their degraded political life could not forget. Mayur Bhatta who is regarded by all later writers on the subject as the earliest poet of the Dharmamangal school probably belonged to the 13th century, but unfortunately his work is lost to us, otherwise we could have possibly said something more definite about this Dharmapal. Vijaya Sen, father of Ballal Sen, drove the Palas from Bengal.[1] Our Dharmapal probably belonged to the period just preceding the final overthrow of the Pals in Bengal, *i.e.*, towards the end of the 11th century.

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[1] বুড়ি মএনা চরকা কাটে দুআরে বসিয়া। p. 90, Gopichandra—1st vol

[2] দরিয়ার ঘাটে জাএয়া দরশন দিল।
তিন আঙ্গুল জলে মএনা ঐ খৈল ভিজাইল ॥
প্রথম খৈলা দিলে ধর্ম্মক ছিটিয়া।
তারপরে দিলে খৈলা বসমাতাক ছিটিয়া ॥
ছিনান করিয়া মএনা হরসিত মন।
আনন্দে ধর্ম্মের নামে করিলে প্রণাম ॥

Gopichandra, 1st volume, p. 118.

[3] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX, p. 232. Rajendra Chola's invasion of Bengal took place sometime between the 9th and the 12th year of his reign.

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[1] R. D. Banerjee's monograph on "the Palas of Bengal."

[2] Vincent Smith's Early History of India, 3rd Edition, p. 399 and the Viçvakosh,—Vol. XV, p. 35. This theory may have been suggested by the fact that the hero of the Dharmamangal poems, Lausena defeated the princes of Kamrupa, which we know from Narayana Pal's Bhagalpur inscription, was subjugated by Devapala. But some other members of the Pala dynasty are similarly known to have conquered it—*Cf.* Conquest of Kamrupa by Mayana in the time of Ramapala and by Vaidyadeva in the time of Kumarapala.

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[1] The story of the origin of the Palas from the sea mentioned in Sandhyakara Nandi's Ramacharita finds some corroboration in the Dharmamangal poems. There may not be any doubt that the Gauḍyan Emperor of this literature was a member of the Pala dynasty. But Dharmapala of the Tirumalai inscription, who was killed by Rajendra Chola, has no place in the Pala chronology, is not mentioned in Taranath's account of the Palas, and no inscription of him has yet been found. There is no reason for attributing an imaginary greatness to him, which cannot be proved by the evidences at our disposal.

To sum up, we have tried to show in this paper that the alleged connection between Ramai Pandit and Dharmapal is not based on any strong grounds, that Ramai Pandit belonged to the 10th century as is generally believed, that the Dharmapal of our literature is not the Dharmapal of the Tirumalai inscription, who was never an emperor of Gauḍa, but is to be identified with some member of the Pal dynasty late in the 11th century. I mean all respect for the scholars who are engaged on the subject and I have only expressed some honest doubts, prompted by reason, which refuses to accept any opinion, not supported by facts, but based more or less on a chance coincidence of names.

BENOY CHANDRA SEN

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[1] The Deopara Inscription of Vijaya Sena, edited by Prof. F. Kielhorn, Epigraphia Indica, pp. 305-315.

THE RAINS

Only the dweller on the burnt-out Plains
Can know the joy that comes with the first smell
Of wet earth drinking in the rain; like parched
Throats slacking thirst at some sweet spring.
Long months the livid Sun has glared, and molten
Rays have charred the verdant green of grass and tree
To ashes dull and spent; and night has brought
No coolness to the air, but swooned with bated breath,
To face another dawn and day of flame.
Weary and sick are bird and beast and man;
There seemed no surcease in the stricken land.
Then with a flash and roar the Heavens burst,
And blessed rain comes, streaming down again
To feed the sun-baked earth with life renewed.
The blood of the soil, re-vitalizing
Tired old veins, and stirring dormant pulses.
Life blooms anew, and all the world awakes
To ecstasy, sighing in relief from pain.
Only the dweller on the sultry Plains
Knows all the joy that comes with the first Rains!

LILY S. ANDERSON

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE

As science, in the last analysis is common-sense condensed, the practical political training of President Coolidge can be called "scientific."

We have heard much about "mental tests" in the public schools ; these are doing much good though they may be somewhat overworked. Such tests are technical and in certain respects necessarily artificial. But there are *natural* mental tests, which depend upon actual accomplishments in life, as great deeds done, offices held, books written, reforms made and various other public acts. That is, in the common parlance of business, it is the delivery of the goods that is the real test of life in this world.

In a recent study of the United States Senate, I have shown that Senators with previous legislative experience have been the most successful in their legislative activity. If it requires special education to become a lawyer, physician or clergyman, surely a sound preparation for the presidency of the United States is very essential. We do not want dark horses, inexperienced men and the great unknown to become Presidents of the United States, nor is it desirable to have geniuses or great brilliancy in the White House, making experiments at the expense of the people. For instance, when a President has had no previous legislative experience, he is liable to be anti-Congressional showing too much executive aggressiveness upon the legislative branch of the Government, if not, with a Presidential chip upon the shoulder. Some persons may enjoy such a public scrap, but it is usually not conducive to good government, and worst of all the people have to suffer for it.

Preliminary Educational Training of Coolidge.

If some university should establish a course of study to prepare young persons for the Presidency of the United States, no method of training could approach that of Calvin Coolidge, born July 4, 1872, which is an auspicious patriotic beginning, son of a sturdy farmer who was a member of the Vermont State Legislature; who once put Calvin in the Chief Executive seat which is as far back as he can remember; he has never forgotten. His stepmother did much to make him after his mother died. When a boy he worked hard and was very industrious on the farm. He was brought up in religious doctrines of rigid type; attended the public schools at Plymouth, Vermont, then was a pupil at Black River and St. Johnsbury Academies. He graduated at Amherst (1895) where he took several honors including first prize (open to all colleges) by an essay entitled "Principles of the Revolutionary War." Then he removed to North Hampton, studied law, was admitted to the bar (1897) and began his practice.

Political Training of Coolidge.

Thus far we have given his preliminary educational training which is thorough, gradual and complete. His political training was exactly the same, when in 1899 he becomes member of his City Council, City Solicitor (1900-01), Clerk of the County Court, then State Representative (1907-08), Mayor (1910-11), when it is said he rang many doorbells getting the Democrats to vote for him. If this be true, it is very exceptional for him; yet common sense makes no absolute rules in practical life. Now he advances to State Senator (1912-15) and becomes unopposed the President of the State Senate (1914-15); on to Lieutenant Governor (1916-18), and then Governor (1919-20) by the largest vote ever recorded. He was then nominated and elected Vice-President and became familiar with national politics, presiding in the Senate and sitting in the Cabinet meetings by invitation of Harding until he becomes President himself.

The reader will note from the dates above given his gradual advancement step by step.

Some Characteristics of Coolidge.

The little things a man does are in many ways chips on the water which show the direction of the current. Thus when Governor of Massachusetts, he had two rooms in the Adams House, Boston, and one-half of a double wooden house in North Hampton, where he voted and his family generally lived. As Governor his salary was $10,000, his house rental was $3,200 a month. He lived within his income and shows that the right kind of man can rise to the highest positions in his State and to the greatest places in the United States, not only without wealth but in fact a poor man.

When in Massachusetts few opposed him; his strength came to him, he did not go to it. He was never known to make the usual moves towards political preferment, seeming indifferent to his political fortunes. His great success is due mainly to his personality which appeals to one not for what it appears to be, but for what it is actually. He does not play a part, he is himself the part. He talks little and only when he has something to say, but always listens respectfully whenever there is anything worth hearing or not. In fact he is called "an eloquent listener." His nod is better than praises from another, and even this is unnecessary as he is known to be thoroughly democratic. He has never been opposed personally, having no enemies in the usual sense; few men have fewer critics; he is quick to stand by the weak when right. His speeches are noted for their epigrammatic brevity; his life has taught him to understand all sorts of men; he has been of them; he was more of an asset to public service than public service is an asset to him.

When Coolidge was Chairman of the Committee on Railroads in his State Legislature, an anti-corporation lawyer after finishing his argument asked if he could retire. Coolidge replied, "Yes, unless you are willing to remain to protect the Committee from these railroad lawyers present."

Common Sense Political Philosophy of Coolidge.

Coolidge is regarded by those who know him as a man who acts promptly and vigorously. He has said that individual initiative is a firmer reliance than bureaucratic supervision; we do not need more government, but more culture. Coolidge is little affected by the pomp of power. His idea of life is duty; the honors as well as failures that follow him, are to him of incidental nature, so that success elates and failure depresses but little, especially when after patient inquiry he has done the best he can.

Aside from his quiet New England serenity, his strong faith in the directing power of Divine Providence gives him calmness in every crisis, showing his deep religious nature. He is not a farmer, but as a vacation rest often takes a hand in the fields. Coolidge, his father, grandfather and great-grandfather were born on the same farm.

A man as taciturn and cautious by nature as Coolidge is very liable to be misjudged as being without deep feeling and having no independent opinion. Quite the contrary; he has strong feeling and decided, definite and independent opinions, but he is loyal to the position and its prerogatives in which he is at the time; he has also the highest respect for delegated authority. For nothing could cause him to criticise the Administration; he might praise it if it pleased him, but if lukewarm or opposed nothing would come from him. His seeming sternness comes from a hardihood Vermont farm training in his early life, and infusion of Calvinistic doctrines, some of which are confirmed by science to-day. His early life was genuine and without frivolity. But doubtless his whole ancestral antecedents were of this character, so that his heredity was adapted to and developed by his environment. Cautiousness, deliberation, patience and conscientiousness are the characteristics of such ancestry and life. Hereditary and environmental antecedents of this kind lessens selfishness, gives contempt for artificiality and produce a strong sense of justice.

When following his first election as Lieutenant Governor of his State the successful candidates were easily found at public places for congratulations But Coolidge was sitting in his room at the Adams House alone by a window opening into an air-shaft. He is naturally diffident and retiring. For when a little boy he did not like to meet strange people and shake hands with them. He was almost ten years of age before he realized he could not go on in that way ; he had no such feeling, however, with old friends.

On becoming President of the State Senate he gave his well known political creed, which is: Do the day's work, whether it be to protect the rights of the weak or help a corporation to serve the people better; don't be a standpatter or a demagogue, though called either; be as revolutionary as science, and reactionary as the multiplication table; don't pull the strong down in order to build up the weak; make no hasty legislation, and let administration have time to catch up.

He has said that no one has a right to strike against the public safety at any place or at any time; but that he is in sympathy with labourers. He defended social insurance legislation, which was regarded as altogether too progressive by many of his friends. As there seemed to be a desire for much pay and little work, he answered, "Savages do not work," and he also said in effect, if material rewards be the only measure of success, there is no hope of a peaceful solution of our social questions.

Coolidge is for utility rather than adornment. His copy of the Bible has been much used, the passages most frequently referred to are the Sermon on the Mount, and the Twenty-third Psalm. His library consists of books on history, geography, constitutional questions, and the tariff. In general, the various works in his library confirm the impression of his taste and character. The books are solid and substantial. He is a student by nature.

President Harding was asked to deliver the address at the dedication of the Government Hospital for Coloured War Veterans at Tuskegee, Alabama, but could not accept. Coolidge was urged to take his place, but he would not until he found the President really wanted him to do it. When the programme for the occasion was submitted to him there was only one thing he objected to which was that the Governor of Alabama was to meet him at the State border. "No," said Coolidge, and he insisted that he would go first to the Governor's car and pay his respects to him.

When Coolidge was Governor, he was asked his opinion of the League of Nations. He said, in substance, that Massachusetts had no foreign relations, but if he should ever hold an office involving the subject, he would put his mind to it and try and arrive at the soundest conclusions in his capacity. He has the New England smile; he is direct and definite, but not brisk and cautious for the sake of being so.

Coolidge was little known at first, but always trusted by those who knew him. His lack of active interest in Republican policies was due to his position as Vice-President, for he does not assume authority which he does not have, confining himself to the limits of his office; but on the other hand he will not fail to use authority which belongs to him. Reputation will have to be based on merit to have weight with him; such names as "Old Guard" will not control him, though conservative by nature and environment; he is opposed to radicalism but also to the idle rich; he believes in the dignity of labour. In short, he carries out his principles in the way he lives.

When on his vacation in Vermont during the illness of President Harding, he would walk to the store, where the only accessible telephone was, several times a day; though the farmers would have been very glad to send him messages as to President Harding's condition. But he said they have their living to make and I have nothing to do.

Coolidge as President.

Calvin Coolidge took his oath of office at the hands of his father at the Vermont farm, his birthplace. This transition from one President to another was the quickest and easiest ever known, the main reason being that no one was worrying or doubtful as to the character and ability of the new President. No Vice-President was so well trained to be President as Coolidge. From the scientific point of view, we have at the White House the most thoroughly equipped President ever there, and in addition he has the right temperament: serene, quiet, judicial, patient; conscientious and never acting until he has learned *all* the pertinent facts. These are not mere laudatory statements of mine, but can be easily demonstrated from his past political life. During the short time he has been President, he has shown these same characteristics. He has made few or no mistakes, though he became President when conditions were as delicate as they were critical.

Some Principles expressed by Calvin Coolidge.

When the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by his old college, he was complimented by the President for teaching the lesson of "adequate brevity." This was an accurate phrase as shown by his speeches and messages. Coolidge expressed fundamental principles which should always be emphasized and cannot be mentioned too often.

General statements, from the scientific point of view, are not wholly true, but if four-fifths true, though one-fifth untrue, they are very valuable. I shall present briefly some of the ideas of Calvin Coolidge found in his writings, speeches and addresses, and as far as possible in his own words, though not quoting him.

1. I am not one of those who believe votes are to be won by misrepresentations, skilful presentations of half truths, and plausible deductions from false premises.

2. For good government cannot be found on the bargain counter.

3. Partisanship should stop at the boundary line, but patriotism should begin there.

4. We are citizens before we are partisans.

5. When you substitute patronage for patriotism administration breaks down.

6. We need more of the office desks and less of the show window in politics.

7. Politics is not an end but a means, not a product but a process; it is the art of government, and

8. Like other values, it has counterfeits, upon which so much emphasis has been placed as to obscure the original.

9. Every native-born American is potentially a President.

10. There are quacks, shysters and charlatans among politicians, doctors and lawyers, but they are not representatives. For

11. Our public men, as a class, are inspired by honourable and patriotic motives desirous only of faithful execution of their trust.

12. Public men must expect criticism and endure false charges.

13. Public business is transacted on a higher plane than private.

14. In office holding only the man of broad sympathy and deep understanding of his fellow men can meet with much success. Yet

15. Office holding is the incidental, the standard of citizenship is the essential.

16. Every man is a politician whether he will or no, for government does not rest upon the opinions of men but upon their actions.

17. The development of the State has ever been from anarchy through

despotism, through oligarchy, broadened into democracy and ending in representative government based upon universal suffrage. But many nations have fallen along the way.

18. Our public schools have made education possible for all and ignorance a disgrace.

19. Those with liberal culture ought to be the leaders in maintaining the standards of citizenship, or their education is a failure.

20. My college mates were moved with a serious purpose; he who had less, lacked place among them.

21. Education must give not only power but direction; it must minister to the whole man or it fails.

22. Science, however important, does not provide a civilization that can stand without classical ideals.

23. The classic of all classics is the Bible.

24. The discontent in modern industry is the result of a too narrow outlook. For

25. It is far from enough to teach our citizens a vocation; our industrial system will break down unless it is humanized.

26. It is not well if the great diversity of modern learning has made the truth so little of a novelty that it lacks all reverence.

27. We have lost our reverence for the profession of teaching and bestowed it upon the profession of acquiring.

28. The profession of teaching has come down to us with a sanction of antiquity greater than all else.

29. Inspiration always comes from above and diffusion of learning radiates down from the university.

30. The individual may not require the higher institutions of learning, but society does. For

31. Without higher education, civilization, as we know it, would fall from mankind in a night.

32. Let there be a purpose in all legislation, to recognize the right of man to be well born, well nurtured, well educated, well employed, and well paid.

33. When membership in a legislature is sought as a means of livelihood, legislation will pass from a public function to a private enterprise. For

34. The legislator will succeed not by indulging himself but by denying himself.

35. Democracy is not a denial of the divine right of kings, but it adds to it the divine right of all men.

36. Democracy not only ennobled man, but it has ennobled industry. For we are working towards the day

37. When equal honour shall fall to equal endeavour, whether it be exhibited in the office or in the shop.

38. The protection of the individual lies at the basis of Anglo-Saxon liberty.

39. Liberty is not bestowed, it is an achievement, but it comes to no people who have not passed through the successive stages which always precede it; it is very far from a state of nature. For

40. While there are no conditions under which it is better to be a slave than to be free, there are many conditions under which it is much easier to be a slave; and many have preferred such slavery rather than bear the responsibility of freedom.

41. Wisdom and experience have increased our admiration of the Declaration of Independence.

42. The sovereignty of the American citizen has irresistibly led to a realization of the dignity of his occupation whatever it may be.

43. Roosevelt, the people looked upon, as a reflection of their ideals of true Americanism; he appealed to the imagination of youth and satisfied the judgment of maturity.

44. Lincoln was in wisdom great, but in humility greater, in justice strong, but in compassion stronger, becoming a leader of men by following the truth; he overcame evil with good.

45. We need a broader, firmer and deeper faith in the people—that they desire to do right.

46. All men are peers, the humblest with the most exalted.

47. This is the path of equality before the law and of liberty under the law, that is, democracy.

48. Works which endure come from the soul of the people.

49. Our flag, above all others, expresses the sovereignty of the people when all else passes away.

50. Each man is entitled to his rights and the rewards of his service. Be they ever so large or ever so small.

51. Industry cannot flourish if labour languish.

52. The welfare of the weakest and strongest are inseparable.

53. Neither wages, houses, lands nor coupons will satisfy. For

54. Man's spiritual nature insists on higher things to which it can respond.

55. Without moral victory, whatever the fortunes of the battlefield, there can be no abiding peace.

56. History is to be studied and applied, not for the purpose of advocating reaction, yet it holds the only warrant for real progress.

57. Laws must rest upon the eternal foundations of rigteousness.

58. Men do not make laws but discover them.

59. Laws do not make reforms, but reforms make laws.

60. Money will not purchase character nor good government, for the measure of success is not merchandise but manhood.

61. It may not be so important to determine just where we are, but it is of the utmost importance to determine whither we are going.

62. The power to think is the most practical thing in the world.

63. There can be no proper observance of a birthday which forgets the mother.

64. If knowledge be wrongly used, civilization commits suicide.

Arthur Macdonald

SUDĀS AND THE BHARATAS

Dr. Abinaschandra Das has given us in the November number of the Calcutta Review an interesting account of the famous Dāśarājña battle. But students of the Ṛgveda cannot help confessing that the account is much too full and much too sanguine. The texts which tell us of this battle are highly obscure and different scholars have understood them differently. Dr. Das has never allowed his readers to suspect that there was any possibility of a different view. The interpretations he has put on the Ṛgvedic passages on the subject are not likely to be accepted by other Vedic students. To show their probable meaning one must enter into the details of text interpretation. But these will not interest the general reader. Hence, avoiding technicalities as much as possible, I shall briefly discuss only one point—the relation of king Sudās with the Bharatas—in which Dr. Das is certainly in the wrong.

Dr. Das has rejected the identity of the Tṛtsus with the Bharatas. He writes, "It is surmised by some western scholars[1] that the Tṛtsus and the Bharatas were one people, *i. e.*, belonged to one clan or tribe in support of which they quote certain verses (Rv. vi, 16. 4, 5, 19). But Bharata, mentioned in the fourth verse had no connection with Divodāsa, mentioned in the fifth and nineteenth verses. King Bharata worshipped Agni (fire) on the bank of the Sarasvatī; hence one name of Agni is Bhāratī, a name which was, in a later age, transferred to the goddess Sarasvatī presiding over *Vāch* or speech. Similarly, another name or epithet of Agni, as worshipped by Divodāsa was Daivodāsa (Rv. viii, 103, 2). In Rv. vi, 16 the Ṛṣi Bharadvāja has simply referred to the fact that king Bharata and king Divodāsa both became famous in Rigvedic times by having been 'energetic supporters of the Fire ritual.' The Tṛtsus and the Bharatas should not, therefore, be regarded as one tribe." This is perhaps the only discussion in the whole paper—all else is dogmatic assertion. But this discussion has not established his point.

The fourth and fifth verses of this hymn (Rv. vi. 16) when read together make it probable that Divodāsa was a Bharata and all doubt is removed by the nineteenth verse, which is, अग्निरगामि भारतो वृत्रहा पुरुचेतनः

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[1] Macdonell and Keith, Vedic, Index I. 363.

दिवोदासस्य सत्पतिः ॥ That Agni is being called *Bhārata* (worshipped by the Bharatas) and *Divodasasya Satpatiḥ* (the true lord of Divodāsa) in the same breath makes it more than probable that Divodāsa was a Bharata. The Bharatas are placed near the banks of the Sarasvatī in Rv. iii, 23, it is sure. But they are the descendants of the self-same Divodāsa, as I shall show elsewhere. Rv. iii. 33 and iii. 53, show us Viśvāmitra leading Sudās, Divodāsa's son (not grandson as Dr. Das and others have assumed—see Rv. vii. 18. 25 (दिवोदासं न पितरं सुदासः) across the Beas and the Sutlej for conquering and probably settling in the land to the south of these rivers. The Bhārata princes Devaśravas and Devavāta ('seers' of Rv. iii. 23) were probably some late descendants of the Tṛtsu-Bharatas settled in land later known as Kurukṣetra. I shall have to discuss fully elsewhere the passages on which I have come no this conclusion and I therefore do not try to establish this point here. I only mention it to show that Dr. Das proves nothing by pointing out that Agni has been mentioned in one passage as Bhārata and as Daivodāsa elsewhere.

Fortunately, Rv. vi. 16. 19 is not the only passage which establishes that the Tṛtsu kings Divodāsa and Sudās were Bharatas. Rv. iii. 53 on which Dr. Das has drawn so much clearly proves this identity. He has cited in translation verse 11 of this hymn. The following verse shows that Sudās was a Bharata. Let me quote the two verses and our readers will judge for themselves.

उप प्रेत कुशिकाश्चेतयध्वमश्वं राये प्रमुंचता सुदासः ।
राजा वृत्रं जंघनत्प्रागपागुदगथा यजाते वर आ पृथिव्याः ॥११॥
य इमे रोदसी उभे अहमिन्द्रमतुष्टवम् ।
विश्वामित्रस्य रक्षति ब्रह्मेदं भारतं जनम् ॥१२॥

That I may not be blamed of reading my own thoughts here, I give Griffith's translation :

> "11. Come forward Kuśikas, and be attentive; let loose Sudāsa's horse to win him riches.
> East, west and north, let the king slay the foeman, then at earth's choicest place perform his sacrifice.
> 12. Praises to Indra have I sung, sustainer of this earth and heaven.
> This prayer of Viśvāmitra keeps secure the race of Bharatas."

I leave it to my readers te draw their own conclusions. The concluding verse of the hymn again refers to the sons of Bharata. It passes my understanding how Dr. Das could read in the first half of this hymn an eagerness on the part of Viśvāmitra to help Sudās and in the latter half Viśvāmitra's deserting this very person and going over to his enemies (?). What this hymn means I shall show in detail elsewhere. I am here concerned only with the identity of the Tṛtsus and Bharatas.

Turning to the Vasiṣṭha collection, we find in vii. 33[6], that Vasiṣṭha vaunts, " Formerly the Bharatas were like sticks for goading cattle, were scattered and insignificant but Vasiṣṭha became the priest and then the progeny of the Tṛtsus spread." The original is दण्डा इवेद्गोअजनास आसन्परिच्छिन्ना भरता अर्भकासः। अभवच्च पुरएता वसिष्ठ आदित्तृत्सूनां विशो अप्रथन्त॥ My readers will see that I have given a literal translation. Dr. J. Muir, of course (Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I, first edition, p. 122), read in this passage a reference to the Bharatas as the vanquished enemies of the Tṛtsus. But his view is altogether untenable. दण्डा इवेद् गोअजनास आसन् परिच्छिन्ना भरता अर्भकासः shows the condition prior to the Vasiṣṭhas being chosen as priests and आदित् तृत्सूनां विशो अप्रथन्त the condition after that happy event. अर्भकासः means 'weak like children' and cannot therefore be a term of reproach. Sāyaṇa has given here a very natural interpretaion from which I may make one quotation, which will probably interest Dr. Das: आदित् तृत्सूनां विशो अप्रथन्ततृत्सूनामेव राज्ञांभरता इति नामान्तरेण उपादानम् (It is the Tṛtsus' kings who are being here called by a different name, *viz.*, 'Bharatas'). The vaunt expressed in this verse has a close parallel in Rv. vii. 18. 17 which Dr. Das has read and cited in his paper.

Dr. Das has read the article on the Tṛtsus in the Vedic Index but probably not the one on the Bharatas in the second volume (pp. 94-97) of the book. Had he done so he would have known that Professors Macdonell and Keith were not the only " Western Scholars " to identify the Tṛtsus with the Bharatas. But, whatever regard he may have for these " Western Scholars," I have shown that one eastern scholar (Sāyaṇācārya on Rv., vii. 33.6) has believed in this identification. I shall cite another Eastern scholar and this time the Niruktakāra Yāska himself.

In the Nirukta (ii. 24-27) Yāska explains some of the verses of Rv. iii. 33, a hymn which Dr. Das has utilised in his paper. Yāska begins his explanations with the following introductory remarks :—

विश्वामित्र ऋषिः सुदासः पैजवनस्य पुरोहितो बभूव॥ [विश्वामित्रः सर्वमित्रः। सर्वं संसृतम्। सुदाः कल्याणदानः। पैजवनः पिजवनस्य पुत्रः। पिजवनः पुनः स्पर्धनीयजवो वा अमिश्रीभावगतिर्वा॥] स वित्तं गृहीत्वा विपाट्छुतुद्र्योः सम्भेदमाययौ। अनुययुरितरे। स विश्वामित्रो नदीस्तुष्टाव 'गाधा भवत' इति॥ Omitting the etymological notes, the above may be translated as, " The Ṛṣi Viśvāmitra was the priest of Sudās Paijavana.......He taking (his) money, came up to the confluence of the Vipāś and the Śutudrī (and) the others followed. Viśvāmitra then prayed to the rivers to become fordable." This passage clearly shows that Viśvāmitra was leading on Sudās and his tribe who must be 'the others' of Yāska. The naming of Sudās otherwise becomes unaccountable. I do not wish to hide from my readers the fact that Yāska's commentator Durgācārya paraphrases इतरे (others) by तदनुयायिनस्तस्करा वा ('his followers or thieves'). But Durgācārya is most clearly in the wrong. The text of Yāska, as it stands, forces us to connect इतरे with Sudās Paijavana. Thieves are out of the question. We find in the text of the hymn Viśvāmitra mentioning the Bharatas and these Bharatas are therefore none other than Tṛtsus. Hence it is impossible to hold that Rv. iii. 33 shows us the Bharatas marching against the Tṛtsus from the land to the south of the Sutlej. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that after Sudās had conquered (may जंघनत् in Rv. iii. 53.11c be taken in the past tense as Sāyaṇa has done?) "the east, the west and the north" (Rv., iii. 53.11c), Viśvāmitra led him on to the south (the वर आ पृथिव्याः of iii 53.11d where the cattle wealth of the niggardly non-Aryan Kīkaṭas was proverbial ?). The Bharatas are spoken of in Rv., iii. 33.11 as 'full of desire for cattle' (=full of desire for conquest, गव्यन्) and not 'full of ardour for battle' as Dr. Das supposes. The Beas and the Sutlej must have fallen in their way as they were marching southwards from their older abode near the Ravi and Viśvāmitra helped them by his "prayers" to cross the streams.. It is this which is described in iii. 33 with such dramatic vividness and Viśvāmitra probably refers to the self-same feat in iii. 53.9: महाँ ऋषिर्देवजा देवजूतोऽस्तभ्नात्सिन्धुमर्णवं नृचक्षाः । विश्वामित्रो यदवहत्सुदासमप्रियायत कुशिकेभिरिन्द्रः ॥ which is thus translated by Griffith: "The mighty sage, God-born and God-incited, who looks on men, restrained the billowy river. When Viśvāmitra was Sudās's escort, then Indra through the Kuśikas grew friendly." The translation is farely correct. The singular in सिन्धुम् (river) constitutes no difficulty for the same form is used in iii. 33.3. सिन्धुम् in the passage under discussion (iii. 53.9) means according to Sāyaṇa विपाट्छुतुद्र्योः सम्भेदम् ('the confluence of the Beas and the Sutlej' mentioned in Rv., iii. 33 and Nirukta, ii. 24). This proves beyond doubt that the Tṛtsu chief Sudās was a Bharata and that no Bharata ever attacked him as Dr. Das supposes. That Viśvāmitra had no hand in the Dāśarājña battle I shall show elsewhere—I have studied the whole question of King Sudās's relations with the Bharadvājas, the Vasiṣṭhas and the Viśvāmitra and I hope to be able to publish my researches shortly.

There are other points in Dr. Das's paper which I cannot accept. But I do not enter into their discussion as that would tire the general reader.

KSHETREŚACHANDRA CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA

Postscript.—If I have not already convinced Dr. Das about the identity of the Tṛtsus with the Bharatas, I may quote Tāṇḍyamahabrahmaṇa, xv. 5.24: ऋषयो वा इन्द्रं प्रत्यक्षं नापश्यन् स वसिष्ठोऽकामयत कथमिन्द्रं प्रत्यक्षं पश्येयमिति स एतन्निहवमपश्यत् ततो वै स इन्द्रं प्रत्यक्षम् अपश्यत् स एनमब्रवीद् ब्राह्मणन्ते वक्ष्यामि यथा त्वत्पुरोहिता भरताः प्रजनिष्यन्तेऽथ मा अन्येभ्य ऋषिभ्यो मा प्रवोच इति तस्मा एतान् स्तोमभागानब्रवीत्ततो वै वसिष्ठपुरोहिता भरताः प्राजायन्त सैन्द्रं वा एतत्साम यदेतत्साम भवति सैन्द्रत्वाय ॥

This shows that the *Yajamānas* of the Vasiṣṭhas were Bharatas.

(*A Rejoinder.*)

Helpful criticism is always welcome. But carping criticism does no good to anybody, either to the critic or the person criticised. Moreover, criticism, to be effective, should have a ring of sincerity and fairness about it (to use only a mild term), which, I regret to observe, is wanting in Mr. Kṣetreśa Chandra Chattopādhyāya's criticism of my article "A Chapter of Ṛgvedic History." The critic's main contention seems to be that the *Bharatas* and the *Tṛtsus* were one people, and I am wrong in holding that they were not. He has quoted only such portions from my article as would serve him to condemn me but has abruptly stopped short just where I have expressed an opinion that would have taken away the sting from his criticism, and saved him much time, ink and paper in writing an article which appears to be superfluous. For example, after quoting my discussion on Prof. Macdonell and Keith's opinion about the identity of the two tribes, based on certain verses, and my inference that "they should not be regarded as one people" on such meagre evidence, he has not quoted, for reasons best known to him, the next sentence which is as follows: "*They might have originally belonged to one clan, called the Tṛtsus, but in Ṛgvedic times the two branches appear to have been distinct,* and there is evidence of the existence of tribal feuds which led Viçāvmitra to make a united and determined effort by the formation of a strong coalition of Ten Kings for curbing the growing and aggressive power of the Tṛtsu King, Sudās, grandson of Divodāsa." The last sentence of my article is also as follows : " As a result of his (Sudas') wars, all the important tril of Sapta-Sindhu were brought under one rule, if only for a time, and *Tṛtsus and Bharatas probably amalgamated as one people.* The discomfit of Viçvāmitra was complete, and the Vasiṣṭhas rose in popular estee and deservedly became famous for their piety and high spiritual power Elsewhere, in my article, I have quoted Wilson's translation of Rv. 18, 15 which is as follows : "*The hostile Tṛtsus (meaning the Bharata ignorantly contending with Indra, fled, routed,* as rapidly as rivers on downward course, and being discomfited, abandoned all their possessic to Sudās." The explanatory words relating to " the hostile Tṛtsu within brackets are mine, which go to show that I regard the Bhara and Tṛtsus as one tribe, though the two branches were separated from a hostile to each other for sometime before and during the war. Sudās v admittedly the King of the Tṛtsus who retained the original name the tribe ; but the other branch of the tribe, which was hostile to Sud was designated by the name of the Bharatas. Hence the Vedic bard v right in calling them "the hostile Tṛtsus" (*durmitrāsaḥ Tṛtsavaḥ*). have given, however, another explanation of the verse in the foot-no which may be correct. If my learned critic had carefully read my artic he would not have rushed to print with a number of quotations to pr the identity of the two tribes, and to condemn me for saying much same thing as he is at pains to establish.

The fact of the matter is that in Ṛgvedic times, as even in a la age, family dissensions were not uncommon among the ancient Arya Like the Vedic Tṛtsus, the Kurus in the Epic age were also divided i two hostile branches, one branch retaining the original name of *Kuru*, a the other calling themselves the Pāṇḍavas. Mr. Chattopādhyāya sho not, therefore, be surprised to find that, for some reason or other, th was bitter hostility between the two branches of the Tṛtsus for someti in the Ṛgvedic period It appears that Viçvāmitra, a scion of Bharatas, had at first been the chief priest of the Tṛtsu King, Sud and helped him in his early conquests ; but Vasiṣṭha somehow ous him from his high office, and this led to a quarrel between the two pries families, which ultimately developed into a tribal war.

That I am not singular in my opinion would appear from the fact tl with the exception of Oldenberg, Western Vedic scholars like Macdon Keith, Muir, Roth and Hopkins hold that it was Viçvāmitra's quarrel w Vasiṣṭha that was the root-cause of the Ten Kings' war with Sudās, wh brought ruin on the confederates. The following extracts from *Vedic Index* (ii. 275) will bear me out: "The most important feature of Vasiṣṭha's life was apparently his hostility to Viçvāmitra. The latter was certainly at one time the Purohita (domestic priest) of Sudās; *but he seems to have been deposed from that post, to have joined Sadās' enemies, and to have taken part in the onslaught of the kings against him,* for the hymn of Sudās' triumph has clear references to the ruin Viçvāmitra brought on his allies."

There is also clear reference in Rv. iii. 53. 21-24 to imprecations directed by Viçvamitra against Vasiṣṭha. "These verses, remarks Roth, contain an expression of wounded pride, and threaten vengeance against an enemy who had come into possesion of some power or dignity which Viçvāmitra himself had previously enjoyed" (Griffith). Wilson says: "The *Anukramaṇika* observes, the last verses of this hymn have the sense of imprecations: they are inimical to the *Vasiṣṭhas*, and the *Vasiṣṭhas* hear them not....The commentator on the Index cites this verse of the *Bṛhad-devatā* in confirmation: शतधा भिद्यते मूर्द्धा कीर्त्तनेन श्रुतेन वा। तेषां बाला: प्रमियन्ते तस्मात् तास्तु न कीर्त्तयेत् ॥ *i.e.*, the head is split a hundred times by reciting or listening to them, and his children perish; therefore let not a man repeat them. The commentator on the *Nirukta* (Durgāchārya) when he comes to the passage...passes it by without animadversion, expressly because he says the verses are inimical to the *Vasiṣṭhas*, and he is of the race of *Vasiṣṭha* of the *Kapisthala* branch, सा वसिष्ठद्वेषिन्हक् अहं च कापिस्थलो वासिष्ठ: अतस्तां न निब्रवीमि। It is not unusual for transcribers to omit these passages altogether, as noticed by Prof. Roth and Prof. Muller." It would thus appear that even ancient Indian commentators believed that the quarrel between Viçvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha was real, and had something to do with the war of the Ten Kings against Sudās, in which the Bharatas under Viçvāmitra took a leading part, as will appear from further evidence on the subject.

With regard to hymn Rv. iii. 53 "Prof. Roth is of opinion that this hymn consists of fragments composed by Viçvāmitra or his descendants at different dates, and that the verses (9-13) in which that Ṛṣi represents himself and the Kuçikas being the priests of Sudās are earlier than the concluding verses (21-24) which consist of imprecations directed against Vasiṣṭha" (Griffith). Besides these, there are also other disjointed verses, having no real or apparent connection with one another, and referring to various matters and incidents that happened in different times. It is therefore quite impossible to read a coherent narrative in the hymn. By the way, Mr. Chattopādhyāya has quoted Griffith's translation of verse 9 to show that "Viçvāmitra was Sudās' escort" in the journey, or expedition during which the flood of the rivers (Vipāçā and Çatadru) was controlled by him by prayer. But Griffith's translation runs counter to Sāyana's interpretation of the passage, which is as follows: "When *Viçvāmitra sacrificed for Sudaās*, Indra with the Kuçikas was pleased." The sentence यदवहत् सुदासम् is thus explained by him: सुदासं पैजवनं राजानं यत् यदा अवहत् अयाजयत्, etc. There is no reference here to "escorting Sudās." The verse consists of two parts, the first one meaning that "Viçvāmitra arrested the watery streams," *i. e.*, caused the flood to subside; and the second signifying that "when he sacrificed for Sudās, Indra was pleased with the Kuçikas." There is really no connection between the two statements, and both Griffith and Wilson have erred in seeking to establish a connection between them. If any coherency is to be sought at all, the interpretation of the elliptical verse will probably be something like the following: "Viçvāmitra caused the flood of the rivers to subside, by means of prayers offered to the River-Goddesses, which testifies to his great spiritual powers, though it is a pity that Indra did not help him in the war of Ten Kings against Sudās who became victorious through that God's help. But this was not the case when Viçvāmitra sacrificed for Sudās; and then Indra was pleased with the Kuçikas." A tinge of sorrow is traceable in such sad reflection.

Mr. Chattopādhyāya seems to infer from Griffith's interpretation of the verse that Viçvāmitra accompanied Sudās in a journey or expedition *from the north to the south*, and the flood in the rivers having obstructed their further progress, he offered a prayer to the River-Deities, by means of which he caused the flood to subside, which enabled him and his party easily to ford the streams. But this view cannot be supported after a careful perusal of the hymn to the rivers (Rv. iii. 33). In the first place, the two rivers (Vipāçā and Çatadru) or their confluence not being far off from the land of the Tṛtsus which was situated on the banks of the Paruṣṇī, Viçvāmitra cannot be said to have come "from afar with cart and chariot" (दूरादनसा रथेन) as he said in verse 9; in the second place, if Sudās was the leader of the expedition, it is quite natural to expect that his name would be mentioned to the River-Deities by Viçvāmitra in his prayer, but there is no mention of his name in the hymn; and in the third place, the *Bharatas* who accompanied the sage have been described as गव्यन् which Wilson has translated as "seeking cattle," Griffith as, "the warrior host," and Mr. Chattopādhyāya himself as "full of the desire of conquest." Yes, but "conquest" of what? Of the land to the south of the Sutlej, *i.e.*, the land of the *Bharatas*? And a *Bharata* priest leading Sudās, the Tṛtsu king, to conquer the land and cattle of his own kinsmen?

These considerations make a theory like this quite absurd on the very face of it. Then there is another interpretation of Sāyaṇa which seems to have been overlooked by Mr. Chattopādhyāya. "The legend cited by Sāyaṇa," observes Griffith, "says that Viçvāmitra, the Purohita or family priest of king Sudās, *having obtained wealth by means of his office*, took the whole of it and came to the confluence of the Vipāç and Çatadru. Others followed. In order to make the rivers fordable, he lauded them with the first three verses of the hymn." Yāska in his *Nirukta* (ii. 24) says much the same story, to which reference has been made by Mr. Chattopādhyāya. But was Viçvāmitra's object mere home-coming, with all the wealth given him by Sudās? If that were so, then the theory of Viçvāmitra's "escorting Sudās" in his expedition to the south, and offering a prayer to the rivers during that journey has no basis to stand upon. But was the occasion merely the home-coming of Viçvāmitra? Yāska and Sāyaṇa contradicts themselves when they explain मे वचसे सोम्याय in verse 4 as "to my speech importing the *Soma*; that is, the object of my address is that I may cross over and gather the *Soma* plant,"—undoubtedly a very pious and laudable object, calculated to bend (or shall I say, melt?) down the swollen watery hearts of the otherwise unreasonable and proud River-Goddesses. Viçvāmitra's object having been gained by apparent *misrepresentation* and flattery which is a soft treacherous weapon against which the hardest hearts (not to speak of the soft watery hearts of *female* River-Deities) are not impervious, he reveals his real object—towards the end of the hymn as "the desire of conquest!". Do not the interpretations of Yāska and Sāyaṇa land us on such palpable absurdities? We can, however, easily avoid them by explaining मे वचसे सोम्याय as "at my friendly bidding" as Griffith has done. He says that "the word *Somyā*, consisting of, connected with, or inspired by Soma, appears to have here its more general meaning of lovely, pleasant or friendly." There is also no reference to Viçvāmitra's home-coming with "wealth" (वित्तम्) in the hymn. Viçvāmitra's real intention for crossing the rivers was solely prompted by a "desire for conquest," and he had the *Bharatas* as his followers. The whole contingent was, therefore, marching under the leadership of the great sage *from the south to the north* against Sudās, king of the Tṛtsus. This is the view that I have taken in my article describing the War of the Ten Kings against Sudās. The following extracts from Max Duncker's *India* (Chap. III.) Abbot's translation) supports my view: "The Bharatas, Matsyas, Anus and Druhyus must have crossed the Vipāçā and the Çatadrū (I have merely modernized the spelling) in order to attack the Tṛtsus. The Ṛgveda mentions a prayer addressed by Viçvāmitra to these two streams............After the two rivers were crossed, a battle took place." Ragozin also gives a similar account of the march in her *Vedic India*, though the plan of the battle described therein seems to be somewhat incorrect.

In face of these evidences, the interpretation put by Mr. Chattopādhyāya on Rv. vii. 33.6 appears to be forced and incorrect, especially when there is clear mention of the Ten King's war in the verse immediately preceding it and in verse 3. Wilson has translated verse 5 as follows: "Suffering from thirst, soliciting (rain), supported (by the *Tṛtsus*) in the war with the ten *Rājas*, (the *Vasiṣṭhas*) made Indra radiant as the sun: Indra heard (the praises) of Vasiṣṭha glorifying him, and bestowed a spacious region on the *Tṛtsus*."

Next follows verse 6, which has been translated by Wilson thus: "The *Bharatas*, inferior (to their foes), were shorn (of their possessions), like the staves for driving cattle (stripped of their leaves and branches): but Vasiṣṭha became their family priest, and the people of the Tṛtsus prospered."

Nobody denies for a moment that the hostile *Bharatas* were a branch of the *Tṛtsus*; but after the war, they were shorn of their possessions and became weak and insignificant. It was only when an amalgamation of the two branches was effected, and Vasiṣṭha became the priest of the re-united clan under the name of the *Tṛtsus*, that the people as a whole prospered. The verse is evidently a glorification of Vasiṣṭha.

It is useless further to discuss Mr. Chattopādhyāya's arguments and evidences. If he can satisfactorily and convincingly prove, as he promises to do, that Viçvāmitra had no hand in the Ten Kings' war, it will then be time for me to revise my opinion.

Lastly, as regards the question whether Sudās was the son or grandson of Divodāsa, Mr. Chattopādhyāya must be fully aware that opinion of Vedic scholars is divided on it. Let me again quote from *Vedic Index* (ii. 24): "*It seems most probable that Pijavana intervened in the line of succession between Divodāsa and Sudās*, because the two kings have, according to tradition, quite different Purohitas, the former being served by the Bharadvājas as his priests, the latter by Vasiṣṭha and Viçvāmitra; this is more natural if they were divided by a period of time, than if they had been, as is usually supposed, father and son.

Geldner, however, identifies Divodāsa and Pijavana." The word *pitaram* in Rv., vii. 18, 25 may mean father, grandfather, or even ancestor as distinguished from *pitājanitā* (Rv., iv. 17,12) which means "father who begets" or simply "begetter," just as the word *napāt* sometimes mean "son," and sometimes "grandson" in the Ṛgveda.

ABINAS CHANDRA DAS

ONE LOTUS FROM ANOTHER

(*From Sanskrit*)

Can one lotus from another
Spring ?—Did any see or hear ?
Maiden, on thy lotus-face
Two lovely lotus-eyes appear.

POST-GRADUATE

WEDDED LOVE

I

The Bashful Bride

The anguish of my heart
In heart abides, O Friend !
When forth from home he journeyed out
I spoke—I spoke to him but nothing said.
He smiles and smiles to say adieu,
That smile draws forth, oh ! all my tears ;
My life but yearns to hold him fast,
My heart to keep him there.
But bashful love forbids and says—
" Must touch him not, must touch him not !"—*Ram Basu*

II

The House Mother

Dost thou remember, my home's goddess,
The story of those ancient days,
In sleep when rested thy dear head
Upon this faithful breast,
When dreams in joy flashed sweetest smile
Across those love-buds, called thy lips,
That smile revealed love's heart-hid lore ;
As half-sleep's daze brought thy caress
Love's shame-faced pang awakened thee ?—From *Bengali*

Mohinimohan Chatterji

TUSHĀRĪ

The worship of Tushārī, practised in most of the Maithila families, is an annual worship done exclusively by maidens throughout the month of Māgha, according to the Saura calculation. There is no hard and fast rule about the year from which they should commence it; but once begun they must perform it yearly, without a break, till the first year of their marriage. The object of this short paper is to give in bare outlines a description of the festival, with a view to add to our knowledge of the folklore of East India and also place before philologists some bits of old Maithilī that are repeated to this day in the course of the ceremony.

The worship takes place every day very early in the morning; and women are so particular about it that they finish it even before they find a crow in or about their house, that is to say, when it is almost dark.

The preliminaries to the worship are very simple. On the day previous to the Tilasankrānti or Makarasankrānti day on which the worship should commence, the ground of worship, which is generally a court-yard, is well cleaned with duster, water, and finally with cowdung. The cowdung, however, is applied in such a way as to make on the previously purified ground three figures as given in the accompanying sketch (No. 1). Secondly, a little earthen-pot containing a betel-leaf is made to rest on a yellow-dyed jute piece and a betel nut, symbolising Gauri, is put into it; and there is nothing else to do. It goes without saying, however, that all the things required for worship and offerings are kept ready so that the worshipper may not be in need of anything at that inconvenient hour of worship.

On the first day of worship, Gauri is taken over to the place purified for worship and is put in the middle of the three figures made of cow-dung. Water, sandal-wood, flower, bel-leaves, vermilion, uncooked rice and sundry eatables are offered to her and the maiden worshipper bows to her repeating the following prayers:

अयलि गौरी महामाई, चाननडारि हाथ क लेलि, चाननडारि अपने लिय, सुहागक डारि हमरा दिय।

[O the great mother Gauri is come with sandal-wood twig in hand. Keep the sandal-wood twig yourself. Give me the twig of prosperity (or long life to my husband.)]

Next, a figure is made on a plantain-leaf with rice-paste. That leaf is placed near Gaurī and symbolises Sāṭhi or Sashṭhikā devi. She is offered the very same things as Gaurī but of course, separately arranged for her, and bowed down. There is no formula which is repeated in her case.

Then we come to the worship of the main goddess, I mean, Tushārī. For this, the first thing required is a clay pot having four cup-like compartments containing rice-powder and sundries for worship. In one of the compartments the powdered rice is quite unmixed and with it, the figure previously made with cowdung on the eastern side is bordered, and in the middle of the figure three x marks are made. On the central point of each of the x's vermilion dots are given. In another compartment the rice-powder is mixed with vermilion and they are used just in the same way for the southern figure as the unmixed rice-powder for the eastern one and the third compartment has the powdered rice mixed with turmeric for exactly the same purposes for the northern figure. The number of x marks on all the figures is the same and so also of vermilion dots. When the marking is done, the devotee offers to Tushārī, specially arranged offerings consisting of all those things, that she has offered to Gaurī or Sāṭhi, and taking a betel-nut proceeds to put it one after another, from left to right on the vermilion dots of the eastern figure each time repeating the following formula :

तुष तुषारी जनम क्रियारी छत्ताधारी मण्डलपूजू पूजू रे माघ तुषारी । सेवक धिया मधुमाधव संसारक सारत्र ब्राह्मण घर वेन दी सुत्रिया[1] कोखि जन्मलो गौरी नमोस्तुते ।

(O Tush tushārī, a bed of my birth and possessed of an umbrella I worship your figures, I worship in the month of Māgha. This girl devotee of yours begs that she may live happily with her husband which is the essence of this world and she has distributed the offerings in Brahmin houses so that she may be born of a good woman. O Gourī I bow down to thee.)

Then she turns towards the southern figure and does the same but with another formula which reads as follows :

आंट नीपू पाट पहिरू साँइ सहित राज भोगू साँय घोड़ा मैं दोला सौतिन चेड़िया हो देओरा ब्राह्मण घर वेन दी सुत्रिया[2] कोखिजन्मलो गौरी नमोस्तुते ।

(Clearse the place of worship and you shall have silken dress and shall reign with your husband. If the husband rides on horse, I shall ride the Dolā or palanquin, my co-wife will be my servant and so will be husband's younger brother. I distribute the offerings among Brahmins so that I may be born of a good woman. O Gourī, I bow down to thee).

Yet, a third formula is prescribed for the dots of the northern figure; and it reads as follows :—

अत्थल पूजू पत्थल पूजू पूजू रे माघ तुषारी ब्राह्मण घर वेन दी सुत्रिया[3] कोखिजन्मलो गौरी नमोस्तुते ।

(I worship the sacred place, I worship the stone, I worship the Tushārī in Māgha and distribute offering among Brahmins so that I may be born of a good woman. O Gaurī I bow down to thee.)

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[1] Different readings : क्षत्रिया=a Kshatriya woman
श्रोत्रिया=A Vedic Brahman's wife

[2] For different reading see *ante*.

[3] For different readings see *ante*.

This finishes the worship. But on that day the worshipper is not allowed to take either salt or Amishya substance. She generally takes rice cooked in milk or cooked rice and milk or crushed paddy and milk. In the evening the maiden devotee takes the Gaurī to any neighbouring tank or river in a procession of females amidst songs of devotion and throws it into water.

From the second day onwards, only the purification of the place of worship, the formation of cowdung figures and the worship of Tushārī are practised in the manner described above. There is no Gaurī or Sāṭhi worship nor any restriction of diet or the like till the Kumbha Sankrānti arrives. That, as I have stated above, is the last day of worship in that particular year. A little elaborate arrangement is required for this day, and there is change in everything. Instead of early in the morning the worship takes place in the forenoon and sometimes at noon. Betel-nut Gaurī is again brought into being just in the same way as we have seen above and is worshipped first of all. The worship of Sāṭhi on figure made on plantain leaf comes next. The figures for Tushārī worship are almost the same but a little bigger in size than those of other days. The points of difference between the usually drawn figures and the figures of this day are that (1) in this case the border to cow-dung figure is made with rice paste and not with dry powders as on other days, (2) there are thirty x marks in each figure and not three as usual and vermilion dots are given on all the thirty x's and (3) in addition to the three usually drawn figures there are made figures of the Sun, the Moon and the Navagraha (or nine planets). These three figures of Godheads are in some families worshipped with water, sandal, etc., but in others they are not. The formulæ to be repeated by putting betel-nut to each vermilion dots are quite the same. Among the offerings to the Tushārī conspicuous place is occupied on the east by the fifteen clay-made pitchers, filled with rice, mango-tree twigs and betel-nuts, on the south by fifteen clay-made pots having wide mouth, filled with the mixture of powdered rice and molasses and on north by fifteen clay-made flat-mouthed pots filled with cakes (*apūpa*) made of rice and molasses. When they have been offered they are distributed among Brahmin ladies. Devotional songs play a very important part in the proceeding of this day's worship and all the neighbouring ladies are generally invited to attend. If it is the Kumbha Sankrānti of the year of the girl's marriage, the husband is generally made to sit by her while she is worshipping and the dress of both of them remain tied together by a piece of cloth or string.

It is interesting to note that a counterpart of this festival is in vogue also in Bengal by the name of *Tushtushalībrata* and description of it can be found in Thāna-didir-thale of Mr. Dakshināranjana Mitra-majumdar. But as it will appear from perusal, although both of these are the same in essence yet they are totally different in details. In Bengal, it is performed in the months of Agrahana and Pausha, *i e.*, nearly a month before it takes place in Mithila. But it is significant that an echo of "तुष तुषारी छत्ताधारी" is to be found in "तुष तुषलीर काँधे छाती"; nay, on reading the description of both one cannot help thinking that both were the same in their inception although they have an altogether separate history of their growth.

But, what the exact significance of this agreement in essence but difference in details in the performance of the ceremony in Bihar and Bengal is, I leave it to the Folklorists and ethnographists to determine. I also hope that the small scraps of old Maithili which, I have mentioned, are repeated in the course of the ceremony will duly attract the attention of the philologists.

GANGANANDA SINHA

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE[1]

We meet under the shadow of a great calamity which overtook us less than two months ago when we lost by the unexpected demise of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the greatest benefactor of the Society. I deem it a great privilege to be present at this meeting for this reason that I had the honour of knowing Sir Asutosh personally for over a quarter of a century and intimately during the five years of my Ghose Professorship and Secretaryship of the Society. As I am the Chairman of this meeting, this is the only time when I can pay my humble tribute to the sacred memory of Sir Asutosh; etiquette will prevent my speaking on the formal resolution which my esteemed friend Rai Bahadur A. C. Bose has charge of.

I do not wish to make a set speech to-day but I will speak out of the fullness of my heart. I will speak of Sir Asutosh's work in the cause of Mathematics, first as the pioneer of Mathematical researchers in India, secondly as the Founder and First President of the Society and thirdly as an educational leader.

Sir Asutosh's contributions to the stock of mathematical knowledge consists of nearly twenty papers published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, *the Messenger of Mathematics* and the *Quarterly Journal of Mathematics* during the years 1880—1890. Sir Asutosh's boldness of vision and independence of thought—qualities absolutely necessary for success as a mathematical investigator—showed themselves very early when, as a student of the first year class of the Presidency College, he wrote his first paper in 1880. This paper contains a new proof of the 25th proposition of the first book of Euclid, and it appeared in Vol. 10 of the *Messenger of Mathematics* of Cambridge in 1881. Whilst still an undergraduate Sir Asutosh wrote a paper on some extensions of a theorem of Salmon's and this paper appeared in Vol. 13 of the *Messenger of Mathematics* in 1884. In October, 1884, he took a step which brought him to the threshold of what might have been a career full of high achievements as a mathematical investigator:—whilst a student of the fifth-year class he gave a new method for solving Euler's equation based on the properties of the ellipse. Sir Asutosh was a careful student; and he was so confident of his own abilities and intellectual powers, that as soon as he came across any problem which challenged his intellect, he would at once attack it. If, therefore, he had studied with the same care a book on elliptic functions more modern in its contents than Cayley's book, *e.g.*, Briot and Bouquet's "Theorié des fonctions elliptiques" which had appeared as early as 1859, Sir Asutosh would have certainly made many important contributions to the theory of functions in general and the theory of doubly periodic functions in particular. But unfortunately like many Indians in the eighties, he thought that everything worth knowing about a mathematical subject could be found in English books. As a matter of fact English mathematicians were themselves very late in picking up the new theories that had come into existence and been developed in the continent. You will, therefore, note that Sir Asutosh had no guidance in his research work; there was no one in India in the eighties of the last century who could be worthy of being his guide. In 1887, Sir Asutosh took up the study of Monge's differential equation for the general conic. Boole had stated in his book on differential equations that the differential equation of Monge had not been geometrically interpreted. Sir Asutosh undertook to obtain the true geometrical interpretation and criticised the interpretations given by Professor Sylvester and Colonel Cunningham which were respectively the following :

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[1] Lecture delivered at the Calcutta Mathematical Society, July, 1924.

"That the differential equation of a conic is satisfied at the sextactic points of any given curve" and

"That the eccentricity of the osculating conic of a given conic is constant all round the latter."

Sir Asutosh published altogether four papers on Monge's differential equation and gave as the true geometrical interpretation the following :

"The radius of curvature of the aberrancy curve (discussed by Transon) vanishes at every point of every conic."

Among the other publications of Sir Asutosh may be mentioned two papers on isogonal trajectories, two papers on Hydrodynamics, a paper on an integral of Poisson and a paper on the determination of certain mean values by means of elliptic functions.

I have given you a list of Sir Asutosh's contributions to mathematical knowledge; they were due to his unaided efforts while he was only a college student. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that, after Bhaskara, he was the first Indian to enter into the field of mathematical research, as distinguished from astronomical research, and did much which was truly original. It is interesting to enquire why Sir Asutosh instead of consecrating his life to mathematical study and research took up the profession of law. The answer is very simple: Our "benign" Government offered to admit him into the Provincial Educational Service with the usual badge of inferiority and Sir Asutosh declined the offer.

I now come to Sir Asutosh's work for the Society. From his college days, Sir Asutosh had conceived the idea of forming a mathematical society in Calcutta. In 1908 the society, of which I am proud to be a foundation member, came into existence and through sixteen years Sir Asutosh watched with fostering care and love the growth of this institution. Amidst his multifarious and exacting duties as the Vice-Chancellor he would make time to preside over every meeting of the society and to counsel for its improvement. In the early years of the society I myself used to attend meetings, coming down to Calcutta from Benares whenever it was possible. Sometimes I used to come only for three or four hours' stay. But even then I had ample opportunities to note Sir Asutosh's devotion to the Society. Speaking of the years when I was the Secretary of the Society, I can say that he ungrudgingly spent his time for the Society. But for his helping hand, this institution would have shared the fate of many a similar institution—it would have died of inanition. I should like the devotees of Mathematics to note that the support of the Calcutta University, ensured by Sir Asutosh's support, was so sufficient since its birth that the Society has gone on without any financial help from the Government and let us hope that, in the future, we shall keep this institution flourishing without such help.

I propose to speak now on Sir Asutosh's great work as an educational leader chiefly in so far as that work affected the cause of Mathematics. A short time ago I told you how circumstances beyond his control compelled Sir Asutosh to take to a career other than that of a teacher. Well, you know that he took to law and that he succeeded in making a name for himself as a learned jurist and as an upright and independent judge. But he had gained from his own bitter experience a thorough knowledge of the disadvantages and difficulties in which young researchers were placed in this country. I am of opinion that this knowledge, coupled with his sturdy patriotism, was the driving power which made him provide for every facility and encouragement for researchers. You will be astonished to hear that before 1890 and even for years after, no post-graduate work in Mathematics was in the hands of our countrymen in any place in India if we except the case of Prof. Gourishankar De. But that case was an exception which proved the rule. He removed the badge of inferiority from the sons of the soil and there is no other place in India than Calcutta where the post-graduate teaching is practically in the hands of the Indians—over 90% of the post-graduate teachers in Calcutta are Sir Asutosh's countrymen. This is one of the results of the introduction of the post-graduate scheme which Sir Asutosh produced long before the Sadler Commission had finished its labours. This scheme has, in its essentials, been copied by the new Universities in Northern and Central India. There is nothing in mere name, the structure is essentially the same. The councils of post-graduate teaching correspond to the Academic Council, the Executive Committees correspond to the Faculties. Let no Indian belonging to any of the new Universities outside Calcutta throw a stone at the post-graduate structure here, because, he will then be throwing a stone at his own University. It is a patent fact that Sir Asutosh was the target of severe criticism. But with my personal experience of half a dozen Universities in Northern India I am glad to say that so far as the post-graduate departments are concerned his work was based on a very firm foundation. The facilities for research which exist in Calcutta do not exist in any other place in India.

All the work which Sir Asutosh did for the Calcutta University was a labour of love. You can understand the tremendous nature of the work when I tell you that he accomplished all that I have just outlined during twelve years, *viz.*, 1912-1924. You will understand the nature of the man when you realize that he put in, almost every day, five hours of solid work for the University in spite of the fact that he conscientiously discharged the duties of his high judicial office. To my mind overwork was perhaps the cause of his premature death.

I stand for truth and the tribute which I have paid to the memory of our First President came from the bottom of my heart. Like all men, he had his defects. But take him as he was and you will not find the like of him in this generation or even in the next hundred years.

GANESH PRASAD

"THE AMERICAN'S FATHERLAND"

Where is the American's Fatherland ?
Is it Massachuseth's stern and grand
Historic soil and sacred land
Since Pilgrim Fathers pressed its strand ?
Whose heroes rise, a sacred band
Since Warren's blood bedewed its sand
Where Bunker Hill and Concord rise
To tell of fame and freedom's prize ;
Where wealth of mind, of purse, of heart
To farthest shores a joy impart ;
Where living thoughts and burning words
Have called to battle patriot swords
No sweeter land 'neath sky and sun
Where song birds sing and rivers run,—
  Yet, strangers, pause ; more fair, more grand,
Must be the American's Fatherland.

To softer skies then turn your eyes,
Where clothed in green, tall palmtrees rise ;
Where warbling from each grove and green
The mocking bird is heard and seen
Where genial winds and tempered clime
The heart to softer thoughts incline ;
And Carolina's men and maids
Walk proudly o'er her pleasant glades,
Where memories of ancient days
Yet live in patriotic lays.
Where Sumter's, Marion's ,Pinckney's name
Is blended with Calhoun's in fame.
Where deeds of ancient chivalry
Wrought in our fierce fight for liberty,
Like Jasper's act, poor Hayne's sad fate
Tell of Patriot love and tyrant hate,

No sweeter land need e'er be sought
Which love has won or gold has bought,—
Nay stranger, pause, more fair, more grand,
Must be the American's Fatherland.

Westward then our steps must tend
Where occident and orient blend
Our sunset land, our golden shore
Where Shasta hears Pacific's roar;
And California, dowered queen,
In regal beauty reigns supreme;
And fleets of nations pass in state
Through San Francisco's Golden Gate,
With wealth that rivals eastern tale,
With peace and plenty in each gale,
With corn and wine and olive crowned,
No winter blasts her hills surround;
This earthly paradise must be
The chosen home of liberty,—
Nay, stranger, pause; more fair, more grand
Must be the American's Fatherland.

Virginia then, the Old Domain,
Must ever in our love remain;
Home of Freedom's greatest son,
The world's hero, Washington.
Historic land whose hills and plains
Bear deathless, consecrated names,
The land where Henry's clarion call
Found echo in proud Yorktown's fall;
Where every brave unselfish deed
Was wrought in our country's need;
And the generous Mother rent her breast
To found and feed the infant west;
No fairer land this side the grave
Than that washed by Potomac's wave,—

Yet far more fair and far more grand
Must be the American's Fatherland.

Then Illinois, the glorious land,
Where cornfields wave, where heroes stand,
Where maidens fair in beauty's pride
Walk by Virtue's modest side.
The land of manly men, the Illini,
With honest hearts and purpose high;
Where Douglas, Lincoln, Logan, Grant
Bring hope to souls and hearts that pant;
Where law and order, culture reigns,
Where honest toil its merit gains,
Where schools alike to high and low
The choicest gifts of mind bestow,
This is the land and this is the place
The home of an enduring race,—
Fair though she be,—more fair, more grand,
Must be the American's Fatherland.

Once more to southern scenes we turn
Where hearts with equal fervour burn.
For all that freedom holds most dear
Home, State and Nation ever near.
Where sweeps the mighty river's wave
The Crescent City's feet to lave
And warder-like the city stands,
To guard the trade of distant lands.
The land which brave hearts rush to guard
The land of Auduton and Beauegard;
The land of cotton, rice and cane,
Where glints the wave of Ponchartrain;
Where beauteous Creole women's eyes
Flash out a gleam of Paradise,—
Nay, stranger, pause; more fair, more grand
Must be the American's Fatherland.

The Mountain land of Tennessee,
This envied home must surely be;
These rugged hills and bracing air
Breed stalwart sons and daughters fair,
A lineage pure of Saxon strain
Unblemished lives, unclouded brain,
More dauntless sons no land can claim
Emblazoned in the Halls of Fame
Jackson whose Tennesseeans bravely met
The madding hosts at grim Chalmette;
'Twas here secession's tide to turn
Brownlow, the warrior priest stood firm
No silken glove encased the hand
With which this Gideon grasped his brand,
Here too the Greenville tailor rose
A terror to his country's foes.
Bitter in fight—with war's surcease
Foremost to offer terms of peace,—
  Aye, a record fair—but still more grand,
Must be the American's Fatherland.

The Northern Blue and Southern Gray
    Alike now claim this land.
The banners that the turn of war
    To hostile hands had thrust
With kindly love are now returned
    As though but held in trust,
Unfeathered to the tropic sea
    Is our great Northern river's flow
Since Lee met Grant at Appomettox
    Some sixty years ago,—[1]

AUGUSTUS SOMERVILLE

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[1] Written on "Independence Day," 1924.

Reviews

"**Home and the School**" by Prof. M. M. Gidvani, M.A. (Sunshine Publishing House, Bombay, 1923)—contains a pathetic picture occasionally relieved by humour of the enslavement of the Indian mind in almost all spheres of existence. Says the writer "Repression begins with the blackboard" in the school and continues all through life and "it is the primary shoolmaster and the vicious system of which he is a helpless slave that are responsible for the ruin of the country." Parents do not know how to properly manage their children and the teachers are no better. The writer has evidently experienced nothing but repression and suppressions everywhere in Indian life. He, therefore, calls "obedience a curse" and is "out and out for disobedience." No suspicion lurks anywhere in him that possibly the cure may prove worse than the disease. Such is ever the swing of the pendulum. Now, freedom and independence are excellent things—nay, they are indispensable—but should they necessarily demand the price the author is determined to extort from the school children, the daughters-in-law, the wives, the untouchables and the subjects of the State? That is the crux of the whole matter. The existing soul-killing examination system, for one, deserves all the censure it has come in for in the book and the present mechanical method of teaching—particularly of subjects like history and geography—cannot be too strongly condemned. The author has done real service by mercilessly exposing the farce of official "inspections" and even expatiating on the disastrous consequences of early marriage, child-widowhood, the dowry system, although in the latter case he shows no skill by which one may avoid the unpleasant impression of being engaged in flogging a dead horse. The useful little volume before us suffers from overstatement and the colours are here laid too thick to make the sketch gloomier than it needs have been.

We have also to think very seriously while in the rôle of sincere but impatient reformers as to the right method in which and the precise extent to which application of foreign ideas, ways of life and sometimes of institutions to Indian conditions may be made truly fruitful. Let us reform without rest but also without undue haste and in a spirit of loving regard for a glorious past which is not altogether without inspiring guidance and influence on the new India yet to be. The fact is our reformers qualify themselves for their Herculean task more by passionate enthusiasm than wisdom and possess a better knowledge of things that are to-day in the West than of what India can teach them. The author is alive to the danger when, as in Ch. XI, he dilates on the evils of an entirely foreign system artificially implanted in India where "the spirit is different." But this does not go deep enough. If one good *custom* may corrupt the world, too many hasty and radical changes also may retard healthy progress and real improvement and even permanently injure the society especially when they are based on hasty generalisations made from conditions obtaining in Western countries having no bearing on the race consciousness, the heritage of traditions, the past history and the present actualities of social environment in a vast continent like India with her fundamentally different and bafflingly diverse culture and civilisation. We have not only to hasten slowly but also to conserve without being conservative in spirit just as we have to change, to transform, to move, perhaps in certain matters to revolutionize without being utterly iconoclastic.

The apparently sound statement that "we want Swaraj of the individual in the first instance and Swaraj of the country thereafter" seems to us to create a meaningless antithesis. At best this is a catching logical abstraction which does not follow from the excellent dictum that "you cannot enslave individuals and proclaim liberty for the country by a fiat of Councils and Assemblies."

We welcome the Chapter (XI) on the Hypnotism of the West but just stop to ask how it comes with a good grace after all that has been said before about the self-evident immense superiority on all sides of that very hypnotiser.

Lastly, we shall not apologise for enthusiastically appreciating our author's valuable remarks on the beautiful Indian **Guru** and **Chela** system with its inspiring traditions and magnificent results and we congratulate him on the piece of constructive programme with which the volume concludes.

J. G. B.

The Three Dervishes and other Persian Tales (Oxford University Press) newly translated from original sources by the Oxford University Lecturer in Persian with its nice get-up and neat print is a welcome addition to the widely admired and appreciated World's Classics Series for which all lovers of literature are so grateful.

This none too sumptuous literary repast has been made appetising by its varied courses and one is pleased to enjoy the renewed flavour of the Arabian Nights Tales. One is also glad to meet with the old familiar faces of, for instance, Hatim Tai, Mansur, Jamshid, the Qazi and the Sheikh, not to mention the three Dervishes, who know how to make their company ever entertaining. The stories are told in a homely, graceful and appropriate style and have not been allowed to at all grow tedious.

There is also a short critical introduction which proposes to be explanatory but we are not quite sure the mark is rightly hit when it tells us that the Oriental, as a story-teller, prefers like other people tales of treasure gained by accident or stratagem and of heroines remarkable for physical beauty because these are things which he most often desires. It is difficult to adjudge the strength of these desires as between the East and the West. And, for aught we know, Orientals prefer reticence about things which are very close to their hearts. Then again, if the story-teller in this case is not always out to edify, that may be because he knows his true craft. We are also afraid that the translator in presenting the new volume, presumably to a large world of readers, has been needlessly, if not nervously, deferential to the alleged sensibilities of the Occidental drawing-room.

Recent political developments have attracted men's eyes anew to Iraq and Persia, far-famed in song and story, and an opportune time has been selected for this little volume of stories which will not fail, we hope, to give zest to the revival of interest in the rich storied past of these lands of romance.

J. G. B.

Edith Wharton's new novel—"**A Son at the Front**" (Macmillan's Empire Library No. 682, 1923) is a fascinating story of the War time which begins on July 30, 1914, and centres round the interesting figure of a lonely father John Campton, the most successful American portrait painter resident in Montmartre, Paris, and his only son George just returned from America between whom there is an intimate bond of intense love rather uncommon in life and somewhat romantic. With this the author very closely and artistically connects the Great War as something more than a mere background—war funk, war preparations, details of recruitment, experiences of combatants and non-combatants and the terrible tragic realities faced by those sent to the front. France is for obvious reasons specially selected as the stage of all these happenings and the author's minute knowledge and skill in vividly presenting characteristic scenes, events and personalities are quite successfully brought to bear on the difficult task of a faithful, minute, realistic yet attractive presentation of all that the tremendous war of devastation meant. We also realise how France is the true home of *ideas.*

Campton's long-cherished sweet dream of a summer tour in his only son's exclusive company now that George had grown an adult young man with whom his intimacy in his virtual widowhood due to separation with George's mother, Julia, bade fair to secure him perfect happiness after a forced absence becomes sadly and abruptly disturbed by the intervention of this terrible international catastrophe which convulsed the whole of Europe and dragged into its wide sweep the rest of the world but in a very special way affected France pre-eminently. Campton had been with rare long-suffering patience wistfully looking forward to his son's home-coming which meant for him restoration of peace of mind and contentment of heart. But this is not to be. The tragedy of this deep disappointment is the main theme of the story. Yet Parisian life and Paris scenes are inimitably sketched by means of well-selected places of interest and groups of men and women and the effect is wonderful because of the author's first-hand knowledge of whatever she delineates. Space will not permit us to attempt to do justice to the varied and well-drawn characters, pretty large in number, that fill her wide canvas. The spontaneous enthusiastic eagerness to join the army engaged in establishing the triumph of a righteous cause and the passionate patriotic fervour of the younger lot set in sharp contrast with the natural concern for them of parents, friends and near relations actuated by weak humanity's pardonable prudence are pictured in the book which is mainly a good story excellently told in glowing colours with a true artist's skill backed by a vivid imagination.

The book, as we have already hinted, is something more than a War story and contains among other items an embarrassing love entanglement between George and Mrs. Talkett beautifully worked out (in Book II, Ch.

XXX, *et seq.*) to give it pointedly the character of a novel on the "new view" of life brought into prominence, if not existence, for the youth by the World War as also on the "new morality" to which Mrs. Talkett with her cat-in-the-adage attitude adheres in offering George, who is her moral superior, everything short of marriage from which only she shrinks through hesitation about the preliminary step of a divorce due partly to what she calls inherited prejudice, timidity, convention or tradition and in part to pity for her poor husband who is left entirely in the dark regarding her doings. Thus at bottom there is a "problem" in the novel.

Yet the Great War in its true meaning and terrible consequences forms an important part of the main theme and the significance of *a son at the front* is repeatedly brought home to the dullest imagination by tragic references to the fate of characters like Louis Dastrey. The War made everything that counts in life different from what it was before by virtue of the unique experience it gave people by letting them into the deeper secrets of life's realities. The War is not simply described in significant detail but represented in its fundamental spirit by means of its noble aspirations and tragic implications. The souls of the men engaged in this hideous conflict of ideals and aims often sank deep down there below in the lowest circles of the unknown pit of darkness and unutterable things became revealed.

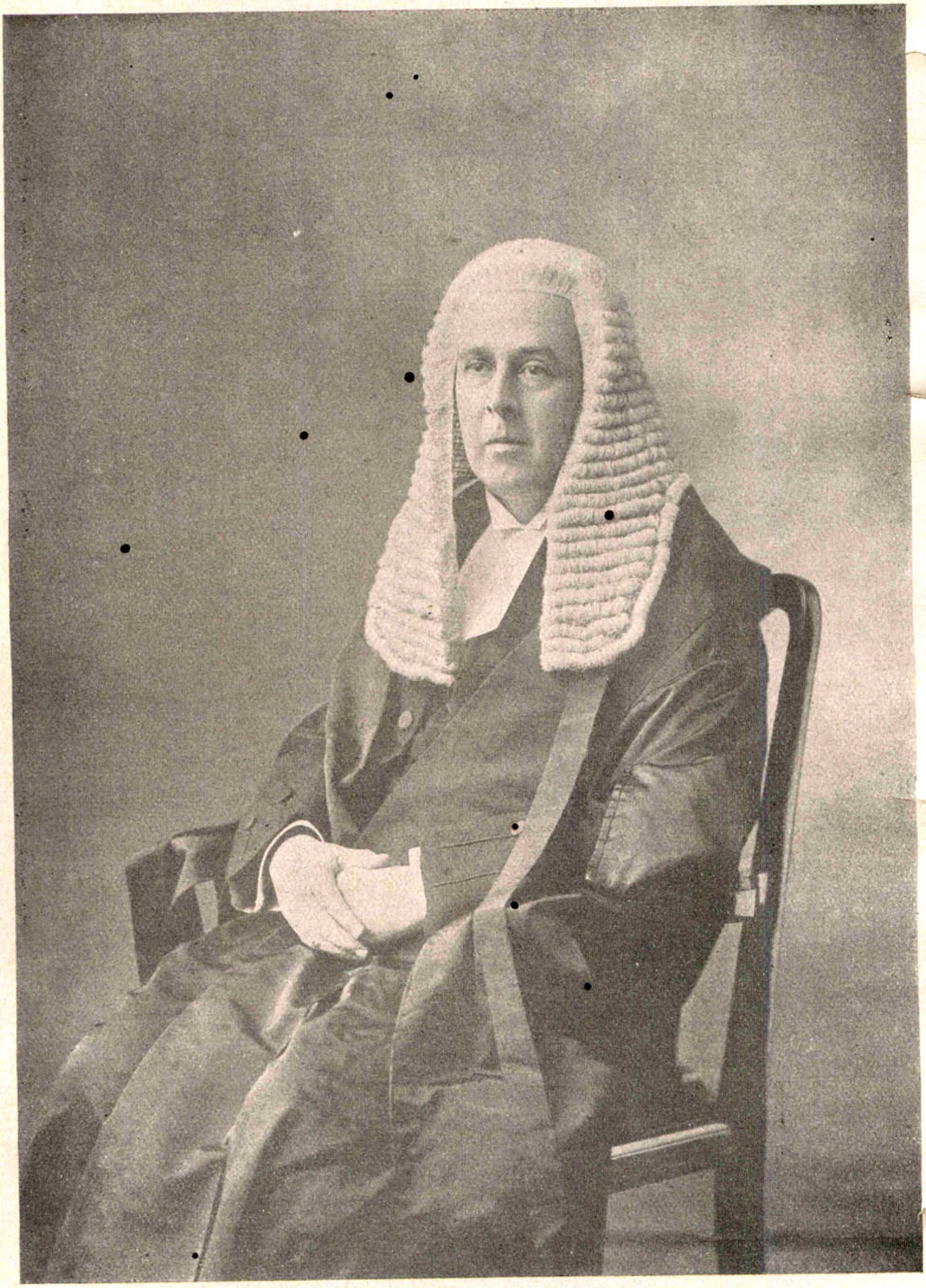
As regards the "problem" part of the book, the author maintains to a great extent the detached aloofness of a judge conscientiously addressing a jury. She keeps up a spirit of large-hearted tolerance and presents both sides of the case with fairness. Yet we exclaim "How astoundingly *new* is the way in which married women of the Mrs. Talkett type behave in these days!" In Boylston's words "She (Mrs. Talkett) loves him (George) and nothing else counts." This, we say, is Browning with a vengeance. But George speaks of our ideas of morality, decency and decorum as mere humbug. "Now, who shall arbitrate?"

We cannot pursue here the whole story—nor even give an outline but shall refer only to one or two significant points. Frantic efforts are made in vain by Campton (with the help of his former wife Julia since divorced and of the rich banker, Mr. Brand, her second husband) to secure exemption from compulsory military service for George.

Campton and Julia—once man and wife and now rather old—suddenly find themselves drawn close together, in spite of the wide gulf between them, by a common concern—their nervous fear for George even though, hoping against hope, Campton had ensconced himself in the fancied security of George's medical record now considered advantageous, for, George had a year ago a touch of tuberculosis! This lends an element of tragic irony to the story which makes its grip on us firmer as it develops. Between this pair now sharing the same hope, the same fear and the same anxiety by a curious irony of Fate and common men and women lay the unbridgeable gulf of their strange life history and its experiences which carried them far beyond the bounds of habitual sensations and customary feelings into a far country to which men in general (specially in peace time) are perfect strangers and where their eyes fail to follow those to whom fell the doubtful privilege of enjoying significant glimpses thereof. Thus those in the war and those out of it were as it were denizens of two different worlds. Here the author shows wonderful skill of delineation possessing as she does the extraordinary gift of vivid visualisation. She has also the rare power of presenting her men and women in well-defined yet suggestive outline each being carefully marked off by individual traits.

Finally, the heart-rending tragic pathos of George's untimely death is very subtly indicated in Ch. XXXVI of Book III and we are left with the tragic figure of Campton—the tired and wearied gentleman in utter loneliness among friends turned into new men and familiar faces made virtually strange and, what is worse, other minds, with nobody of his own to whom he could transfer a part of the vast and intense domestic affection of his vacant heart. He is sustained in his terrible trial by one supreme lesson which life alone can teach—the truth that "the only thing that helps is to be able to do things for people."

J. G. B.



The Hon'ble Sir Ewart Greaves, Kt.,
As a Judge of the High Court

Ourselves

THE NEW VICE-CHANCELLOR.

The appointment of Sir Ewart Greaves as the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University in succession to Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu at a very critical moment of its history has laid at rest many idle rumours and has been accepted by all with a welcome sigh of relief. Sir Ewart has during the last ten years of his stay in Calcutta been a very familiar figure in the Senate, well known as a lawyer, as a Judge, as a keen sportsman, always sympathetic to Indian aspirations, whose patience and energies have appeared wellnigh inexhaustible and whose urbanity of manners has almost served as a classical relief to his classical learning at Oxford.

Three important questions require insistent solution in the University—(*i*) the reconstruction of the Calcutta University on the lines of the report of the Sadler Commission (*ii*) the stabilisation of the great Post-graduate Departments, the rich legacy bequeathed to the nation by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee; and (*iii*) the solution of the ever recurring financial difficulties of an institution attempting to keep pace with the rapid intellectual development in the country. We have no doubt that we shall be able to solve all these problems under the wise guidance and the statesmanship of Sir Ewart. We offer him our heartiest congratulations and wish him godspeed in his arduous task.

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MR. BHUPENDRA NATH BASU.

We are sorry to hear that Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu is not progressing so rapidly as we expected. The Senate of the

University was looking forward to a wise solution of various problems that awaited decision under his leadership and Mr. Basu amidst his great bereavements and his ill-health found work in the University a great anodyne. He undertook charge of his high office at a time when the educational atmosphere of Bengal was surcharged with electricity and one could almost hear the rumblings of distant thunder, but Mr. Basu's tact and judgment, his strong commonsense and his loyalty to his *Alma mater* enabled him to guide his vessel safe and the port was almost in sight when a failing health compelled him to give up his seat at the rudder. May God give him peace and strength.

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KAMALA LECTURESHIP.

It may be in the recollection of our readers that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee of hallowed memory placed at the disposal of the University, Government Securities of the face value of Rupees Forty Thousand with a view to establish a lectureship called the Kamala Lectureship after his eldest daughter who died last year. The committee established under the terms of the endowment consisting of Mahamahopadhaya Haraprasad Sastri, Sir Nilratan Sarkar, Mr. G. C. Bose, Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee and Ray Jatindra Nath Chowdhury have appointed Dr. Annie Besant as the first lecturer who will deliver a course of not less than three lectures on Indian Ideals of Philosophy, Education and Science.

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DR. J. C. KAMESVARA RAV.

Our congratulations to Mr. J. C Kamesvara Rav who has been approved for the Doctor of Science. Mr. Rav is a brilliant student of the University, having stood first in first class in Physics, Group B, in 1919. We quote in extenso here below the report of the Board of Examiners consisting of such distinguished chemists as Sir Napier Shaw, Professor F. G. Donnan and Professor A. W. Porter:

"The thesis of the Candidate consists of an extension of work done by him on the molecular scattering of light in liquid mixtures. The previous work (also presented) was on mixtures of bisulphide of carbon and acetone. In the thesis this is extended to mixtures of toluene and acetic acid, and to mixtures of methyl alcohol and carbon bisulphide at temperatures both above and below the critical solution temperature. The experimental results are examined in the light of the theory put forward by Einstein and Smoluchowski and modified by Raman and Ramanathan. The candidate has also independently examined the problem both when the matter is taken as continuous and when it is molecular and isotropic, in each case obtaining Raman's formula. He extends the theoretical examination to anisotropic molecules. The comparison between theory and experiment is good.

The candidate also presents several subsidiary communications.

We consider his work to be a distinct contribution to science, and we recommend that the Degree of Doctor of Science be granted."

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DR. JOGENDRACHANDRA BARDHAN.

Our congratulations to Mr. Jogendrachandra Bardhan, M. Sc., who has just been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science. Mr. Bardhan after having passed his M.Sc. Examination in 1919 in Chemistry attached himself to the University College of Science as a Research Scholar. We make no apologies whatever in quoting the unanimous report here below of the Board of Examiners consisting of such distinguished Scientists as Sir William Jackson Pope, Dr. Henry Fenton and Dr. Jocelyn Thorpe:

"Mr. Bardhan has presented for the degree of Doctor of Science a thesis under the title "Studies in the Pyridine Series, Part I. The Action of cyanoacetamide on 1 : 3 di-carbonyl compounds." In this thesis he discusses the question of the behaviour of the β-diketones during chemical change. The β-diketones readily change into enolic isomerides, the relative stability of which can, as Thiele pointed out in 1899, be attributed to the fact that the enols are conjugated whereas the parent diketones are not. The candidate adopts the view that at the moment of chemical change the residual affinities of the double bonds are all free, so that the actual mechanism of conjugation is suppressed, and supposes that in these circumstances the tendency to react as an enol should also disappear. He proceeds to test this point by investigating the action of cyanoacetamide on a series of four selected β-diketones, and finds evidence that in every case the compound reacts as a dikenote and not as a mixed keto-enol.

Two published papers are submitted in addition to the main thesis, these describe joint work and we have not found it necessary to consider them in forming a conclusion.

The underlying idea of the main thesis is ingenious, and the methods of testing it are well-devised and successfully carried out; the experimental work is well done, and the presentation of the results is good. We therefore recommend that the degree of D.Sc. be awarded to the candidate."

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Tagore Law Professor.

Our congratulations to Dr. Radhabinod Pal, M.A., D.L., who has been appointed the Tagore Law Professor for 1925 to deliver a course of lectures on "The History of the Law of Primogeniture with special reference to India, Ancient and Modern." Dr. Pal got a first class in the M. L. Examination in 1920, and was admitted to the much coveted degree of D. L. this year and is a Professor in the University Law College.

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TAGORE LAW LECTURES.

The following subjects have been selected for the Tagore Law Lectures for 1926:

(*i*) The History of Hindu Law in the Vedic Age and in Post-Vedic Times down to the Institutes of Manu.

(*ii*) A Critical, Historical and Comparative Survey of the System of Administration of Justice of Muslim Law.

(*iii*) A Comparative Study of Constitutional Law with special reference to India.

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DR. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJEE.

Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Ancient Indian History in the University of Lucknow, has just been appointed by the Senate a Reader in this University who will deliver a course of lectures on "Harsha Vardhan" the last great Hindu Emperor of India. Professor Mookerjee does not require any introduction to the public of Bengal and we await with interest his exposition of one of the important chapters of the history of India.

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MR. R. SWAMINATH AIYER.

Mr. R. Swaminath Aiyer, B.A., University Reader, delivered a course of interesting lectures on "The Philology of the Dravidian Languages" in the Senate House.

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STEPHANOS NIRMALENDU GHOSE LECTURER.

Professor Maurice Arthur Canney of the Victoria University, Manchester, who was appointed Stephanos Nirmalendu

Ghose Lecturer in succession to Professor Arthur Macdonell of the University of Oxford, has with the sanction of the Syndicate decided to deliver a course of lectures on the following subjects :

1. Disposal of the Dead
2. Ideas about Death
3. Birth and Creation
4. Givers of Life
5. Men and Gods
6. The Idea of Holiness
7. Religious Experience
8. Life More Abundant

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JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE.

The following subjects have been selected for the Jubilee Research Prizes in Arts and Science for the year 1926 :

Arts.

I. The Comparative Theology on Universal Religion illustrated by the works of Raja Rammohan Roy, Maharshi Debendranath Tagore and Babu Keshabchandra Sen.

II. The influence of Western literature on the development of Bengali novels.

Science.

The constitution of metals with special reference to their electrical and mechanical properties.

* * * *

MATRICULATION EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination, 1923-24, was 18,501 of whom 18,347 actually sat for the Examination. Of these 7978 passed in the First Division, 5023 in the Second Division and 1145 in the Third Division.

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I.A. EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered was 3880 of whom 3758 actually sat for the Examination. Of these 1147 passed in the First Division, 1003 in the Second Division and 280 in the Third Division.

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I.Sc. EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered was 3963 of whom 3831 sat for the Examination and of these 533 passed in the First Division, 895 in the Second Division and 392 in the Third Division.

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B. A. EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 2,848 of whom 1,994 were successful, 94 were absent, 6 were expelled and 751 failed. Of the successful candidates 1,714 were placed in the Pass List and 280 in the Honours List. Of the candidates in the Honours List 43 were placed in the First Class and 237 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List 238 passed with Distinction.

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B. Sc. EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 816 of whom 572 passed, 219 failed, 23 were absent and 2 were expelled. Of the candidates who passed, 103 were placed in the Honours List and 469 in the Pass List. Of the candidates who were placed in the Honours List, 28 obtained First Class Honours, and 75 Second Class Honours. Of the candidates in the Pass List, 137 passed with distinction.

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L. T. EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for the L.T. Examination was 19 of whom 13 passed and 6 failed. Of the successful candidates 5 passed with distinction.

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B. T. EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for the B. T. Examination was 33 of whom 19 passed and 14 failed. Of the successful candidates 3 were placed in the First Class.

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I. E. EXAMINATION.

Section "A"—

33 were registered for the whole Examination, 33 were present, 1 was expelled, 26 passed in all the three groups; 6 failed to qualify in Mathematics, and can only be allowed to pass in Section "B" when they qualify in this group, 2 candidates failed completely, having failed in more than one group, 3 who had already qualified in the other two groups, qualified in Mathematics,

Section "B"—

49 candidates were registered; 49 were present, of whom 46 had perviously qualified in all groups of Section "A", 10 of these were B.Sc. and, therefore, exempted; the other 3 in the necessary group at this year's Section "A".

Of the 49, 28 passed and 21 failed.

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B. E. EXAMINATION.

Non-Professional Section—

20 candidates registered for the whole examination, 15 passed at least in one section; 5 failed to qualify in Mathematics, which they must do before passing the B. E.,

3 candidates who had qualified previously in Science appeared in Mathematics only of whom 2 succeeded in qualifying.

Professional Section—

22 candidates were registered, 22 were present, 8 passed, all in the Second Division.

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PRELIMINARY SCIENTIFIC M. B. EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 271 of whom 193 passed, 74 failed and 4 were absent.

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FIRST M. B. EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 329 of whom 156 passed, 154 failed, 1 was expelled and 18 were absent.

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FINAL M. B. EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for Parts I and II of the Examination was 16 of whom none passed. Of those who failed, none passed in Part I whilst 10 passed in Part II.

The number of candidates registered for Part I of the Examination was 247, of whom 125 passed, 119 failed, and 3 were absent.

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THE MYMENSINGH BALLADS.

Lord Ronaldshay in an article entitled "What is it Nationalist India Wants" published in the July number of *The Nineteenth Century and After* refers to Dr. Sen's compilation of the ballads of Eastern Bengal in the following terms:

> "For centuries past there have been sung and handed down from father to son amongst the peasant population of Eastern Bengal a

whole collection of ballads, the faithful record by village poets of episodes in the daily lives of the people. A number of these illuminating songs has recently been collected, edited and translated by Rai Bahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen, who has done so much to make better known to the world the literary treasures of Bengal. Among these ballads is the story of Kenaram, a famous robber chief. The interesting work is described by the editor of the collection as an historical account by one who knew them at first hand of events in Bengal during the closing quarter of the sixteenth century. It must contain, therefore, a first-hand account of the life of Bengal before the advent of the British.

The tale which it unfolds is that of a land racked and riven by anarchy, of deserted homesteads and of a people harried and panic stricken under a chaotic administration. 'The people buried their wealth under the earth for fear of plunder,' sings the poetess. 'The robbers strangled the wayfarers with nooses of rope:' and, with particular reference to the activities of Kenaram himself, 'the very leaves of the trees shivered as if in fright? none dared to light a lamp in the evening lest it should attract notice to the house nor dared to come outside after dark'....Nor does this historical ballad bear out the contention...that famine is a product of British rule. 'At this time,' declares the poetess, 'the district of Mymensing was visited by one of the most cruel famines that had ever come upon Bengal.' And she describes its horrors in graphic detail: 'Husbands sold their wives, and wives their children. All convention, all affection and feeling were gone, and men became like lower animals seeking the whole day long for something to live upon.'

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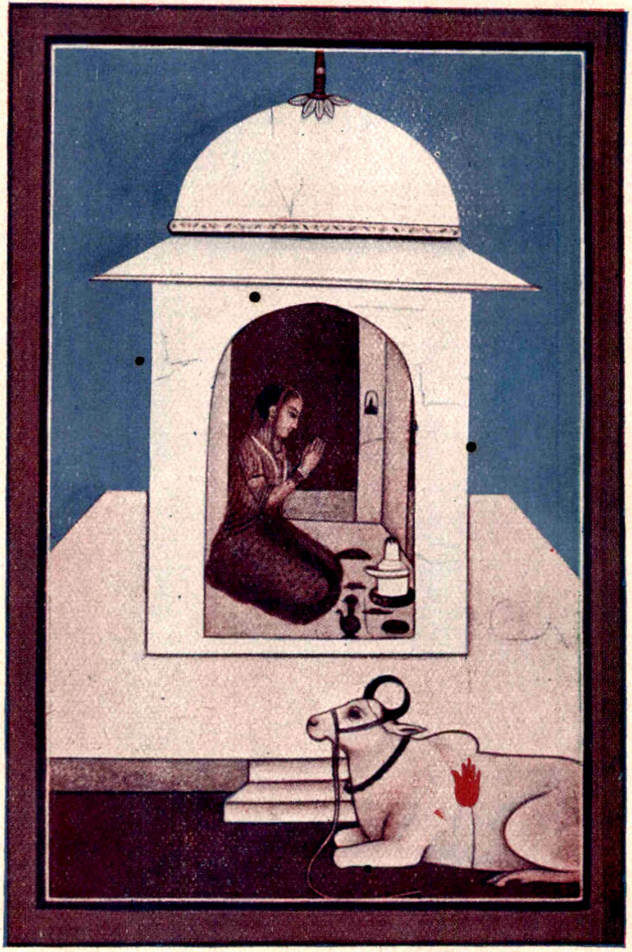
A CORRECTION.

We hasten to publish the following note from the Controller of Examinations with our apologies to him and to our readers:—

"The undersigned regrets that in giving, on pages 61 and 62 of the *Calcutta Review* for July, 1924, references to the mathematical memoirs of Sir Asutosh Mookerjeee, Kt., he mentioned certain Volumes of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, incorrectly. The Volumes should have been mentioned as 56 to 59 instead of 46 to 49."

A. C. BOSE.



THE WORSHIP OF SIVA

(*From the Art Collection of Mr. P. C. Manuk of Patna*)

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1924

VEDĀNTISM

WHAT IT IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT.

"Democritus had regarded the atoms and their motion, Plato the Ideas and their final causation," to use Windelband's words (History of Philosophy, p. 139), "as the causes of phenomena—causes different from the phenomena themselves. Aristotle, however, determined the true reality, that which is—as the essence which unfolds in the phenomena themselves. He denounced the attempt to think out as the cause of phenomena something different from them (a second world), and taught that the Being of things possesses no reality apart from the phenomena in which it realises itself"—that Being is "the essence which constitutes the one and the only ground of its individual formations, but is real or actual only in these formations themselves, and all phenomenal appearance or coming into being," is but "the realisation of the essence." The opposition between the Heraclitic and the Eleatic metaphysics was thus virtually solved by Aristotle. Again, "the Greek theory assumed 'the objects' as given independently of thought, and regarded the intellectual processes as entirely dependent upon the objects; at the most, it was the mission of the intellectual processes to reproduce these objects by way of copy, or allow themselves to be guided by them. Kant discovered that the objects of thought are none other than the products of thought itself." (*Ibid*, p. 544.) Now, these two currents of thought, the Aristotelian and the Kantian movements, had been unified in the Vedāntic speculation in India, at least as early as about 800 B.C. The world of plurality, as perceived by the senses, unconnected and discrete, and appearing as existing independently of thought, was the foundation of the pre-Vedāntic position in India as well. But experience involving both the subject and the object as two factors of an inter-related whole, and the consequent rejection of the aforesaid sensuous view of reality, formed the starting-point of the Vedāntic speculation. The world of self and the world of not-self are but two manifestations of one Ultimate Reality, one eternally self-differentiating spiritual principle, Brahman, which is realised in the plurality of existents, finite centres of its self-manifestation, and includes and unites them all in its all-embracing Unity, which is pure 'inwardness,' and has nothing external to it, and wherein the terms external and internal lose all their meaning and application. This is the central conception of the Vedānta.

The concept of Brahman, as an eternally self-differentiating spiritual principle is, indeed, the pivot, on which the entire Vedāntic Pantheism rests. The term Brahman, says Prof. Max Müller, is derived from *brih*, to break or burst forth. "If *brih* meant originally," says he, "to break or burst forth, *brahman* would have meant at first what breaks forth, an utterance, a word, and in this sense, in the sense of prayer, brahman is of very frequent occurrence in the Veda. It might, however, at the same time, have meant, what bursts forth, in the sense of......creation or creator, particularly

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[1] Müller, Three Lectures on the Vedanta, p. 149.

Cf. Deussen, Outlines of Indian Philosophy, p. 20.

when creation was conceived, not as the making, but as a coming forth." Ānandagiri, in his gloss on Śankara's commentary on the Tait. Up. derives the term "from *brih*, to grow, to expand," and observes that the term is "an expression of growth and greatness." The term Brahman, as used in the Vedānta, has, indeed, a double significance. The creation, regarded as an effect, a modification of self-differentiation, of the ultimate causal principle, is nothing but a 'bursting forth,' self-differentiation, or expansion of Brahman the Ultimate Reality. But the term also means the all-comprehensive and all-transcending Reality, Bhūmā, the Infinite, "Niratiśayabrihat," as Rāmānuja puts it. Vijñānabhikṣu, in dealing with the same question, likewise observes, "the Self is called Brahman, both by reason of its infinitude, and of its bursting forth, or self-differentiating expansion."[1] And it is evident from the Vedānta itself that the term connotes both these ideas. The Vedānta Sūtras, at the very outset (I,1,2) defines Brahman as "the principle which evolves, from within, the cosmic order, sustains it, as its ultimate ground and support, and re-absorbs (to be understood only in its logical sense of posterity and not as an event in time) it on its dissolution."[2] Thus, the cosmic-order, the Vedānta tells us, is the bursting forth, or self-differentiation of the universal Self, which manifests itself in a world of plurality, as means of its self-manifestation, includes and unifies them all, and, as the ultimate ground and support of all its modes, transcends them. The Chan. Up., VII. 24. 1, again, defines Brahman in its aspect of Bhūmā, the all-embracing Reality, the Infinite, "wherein nothing else (separate from and independent of it) is to be seen, nothing else is to be heard, nothing else is to be conceived, and nothing else is to be known."[1] The first definition represents Brahman as both the efficient and material cause of the plurality of existents, both its source and support, Adhiṣṭāna-Kāraṇa (Ablative Cause, if we can say so) as Vijñānabhikṣu aptly designates it.[2] "Brahman desired," the Upaniṣads accordingly tell us, "to grow or differentiate itself, into many forms, and it modified itself and assumed many forms, abiding whole and complete in each of the modes."[3] "He, who makes while all are asleep," says Katha (II. 2, 8 and 12). "That alone is the Light of the world. That is Brahman, That verily is called the Eternal Being. In Him rest all the worlds, and nothing transcends Him. He is the One Ruler, the Soul of all existents, who manifests His One Self into many forms. The sages who see Him as manifested in their own souls alone have eternal peace, and not others." "All these are regulated by Reason (Prajnānetram)" (Ait. Up. III. 3), "rest in Reason (Prajnāne pratiṣṭhitam). The world is led by Reason, Reason is its support (Prajnā pratiṣṭhā); Reason is Brahman." "All these existents," similarly says Uddālaka (Chh. VI, 8, 4 and 7), "live, move, and have their being in this Eternal Being......All existents are but modes of the Self." The Vedānta Sūtras also echo and re-echo the same ideas in a hundred different ways, and represents the cosmic-whole "as a system of inter-related reals, the modes of the self-manifestation of the Supreme Spirit."

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[1] *Cf.* Rāmānuja's Commentary on Vedānta Sūtras, I. 1, 2; also Vijñānabhikṣu's commentary on the same.

[2] The Vedantic passages referring to prior-existence of the plurality, in a latent state in the Absolute, as well as those referring to the final dissolution of the plurality, are always to be taken in their logical sense, and never as events in time. The Vedāntic Brahman is an eternally self-differentiating principle; and as such creation is the eternal self-manifestation of the Infinite.

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[1] This passage, and similar other passages, have been grossly misinterpreted by Śankara, Gough, Deussen, and others, as implying a denial of the plurality. Here, however, plurality is not at all denied; it is only represented as the necessary material of the life of the Infinite, and as having no independent existence.

[2] In opposition to Śankara's Distortion of Illusion Theory, Vivarta-Vāda, on the one hand, and Rāmānuja's Modification Theory, Aarināma-Vāda, on the other, he offers his doctrine of 'Ablative Causality,' as best describing the true relation between Brahman, as cause and ground, and the world of plurality, as effects. The theory of Ablative Causality includes evidently the Modification Theory of Rāmānuja, and nicely fits in with the Unity-in-difference view of Reality held by Nimvārka, and taught in the Vedānta. It clearly brings out that particular aspect of Vedantic Panentheism which refers to the transcendence of the Reality and its inexhaustibility in the world of plurality.

[3] Tait. Up., II, 6; Brih. I. 4, 5; 7; 10; IV. 4. 13; IV, 5, 7, etc. Chh., VI. 2, 3; VI. 8, 4; VII. 14, 1-2, etc. Mund. I. 1, 7-8; II. 1, 3-4. Prasna, 1. 4; IV. 7; Katha., II. 2, etc.

It is "not in a Substance as severed from its finite modes as existing in a way which is not their mode of existence—that we can look for the ultimate explanation of the universe. A universal, which is simply the negation of the particular elements, can in no way be reconciled with these. A substance or ground of existence which is but the negation of all finite existence can in no way serve as their bond of union."[1] Brahman is not such a negation of all finite existents. It is on the contrary, "a differentiated Unity," to use Dr. McTaggart's words,[2] "in which the Unity has no meaning but the differentiations, and the differentiations have no meaning but the Unity. The differentiations are individuals, for each of whom the Unity exists, and whose whole nature consists in the fact that the Unity is for them, as the whole nature of the Unity consists in the fact that it is for the individuals." Bādarāyana is indeed never tired of bringing out this fact of correlation between Brahman and the plurality of existents, its modes of self-manifestation, of showing their essential non-difference and unity, and yet emphasising their equally real difference and opposition, as finite centres of the Infinite's self-manifestation.[3]

Brahman is not only an eternal principle of change and generation, but, as the Self of all, it is also their universal internal Guide and Ruler. It is ever active, self-conscious, Universal Will, eternally manifesting itself through an infinity of finite centres, the world of plurality. The creation is thus an eternal process of the self-revelation of Brahman, and 'names' and 'forms,' the plurality of existents, are the objects of its eternal consciousness. Thus understood, Śankara's special pleading on the point becomes quite superfluous and meaningless. "What then is the object," asks he, "to which the knowledge of the Lord can refer previously to the origin of the world? Name and form, we reply, which can be defined neither as being identical with Brahman nor as different from it, unevolved, but about to be evolved" (Thibaut, Vedanta Sutras, p. 50). This special pleading is, we say, quite unnecessary, from a strictly Vedantic point of view. Creation, according to the Vedānta, is eternal; Brahman is an eternally self-differentiating Unity, and 'names' and 'forms,' as modes of Brahman's self-manifestation, form the objects of its eternal consciousness.

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[1] Adamson, Development of Modern Philosophy, Vol. 1, p. 66.

[2] McTaggart, Studies in Hegelian Cosmology, p. 19.

[3] *Cf.* For Unity in Difference, I. 4, 23-27; II. 1, 13; 18; 22; III. 2, 11; 27-28, etc.
For Non-difference—II. 1, 15-19; etc.
For Difference I. 1, 17-22; I. 2, 1-24, etc.

Materialism and Idealism are both one-sided systems. Materialism has completely failed to explain the unity of the cosmic order, and the origin of the individual souls, ability to produce intelligence, means to contain it, at least potentially. Again, to make reciprocal inter-actions among a plurality of existents possible, the constituent elements of the world-whole must have some common bond of unity and inter-dependence; and this unity in principle, as Lotze points out, must be a spiritual principle. The idealistic thinkers have, on the contrary, been confronted with insuperable difficulties in their attempts to pass from the ideal to the real. The difficulty of the task compelled Plato greatly to compromise his position, and to take recourse to the hypothesis of a principle of non-being, to explain the world of change and generation. Hegel solved the difficulty by declaring the identity of thought and being. But "the idea which involves reality, thought which implies force, is," to use Weber's words, "more than an idea, more than thought." The reconciliation of these two opposed positions and a true synthesis of Idea and Form must be sought for in a higher principle, from which both matter and thought proceed. "No substance," said Leibnitz, "without effect." Modern science has also resolved matter into force. But, to make effort, is to will, and, if 'effort' or 'tendency to move' forms the essence of matter, we must seek for the basis of substance in the will. Thought, again, also implies effort. In the will, then, lies the synthesis of thought and matter. It is, "the common denominator, and the only one to which physics and morals can be reduced : it is being in its fulness. Everything else is merely phenomenal." And "compared to the effort, which produces them, realises them, constitutes them, matter and thought are nothing but accidents," ulterior products and developments. "The will is at the basis of everything ; it is not only the essence of human soul, the primary phenomenon of physical life, but the universal phenomenon, the basis and the substance of being, the only Absolute principle. On this principle, as Aristotle says, depend the heavens and all nature." Thus "concrete spiritualism alone, which considers Will as the ground of all things, and the common substance of the 'two-worlds,'-is a truly universal metaphysics, containing," to use the words of Leibnitz, "whatever there is of good in the hypothesis of Epicurus and of Plato, of the greatest materialist and the greatest idealist." (Weber's History of Philosophy, pp. 600-1).

Schopenhauer was the first in modern age to call the ultimate basis of all existents by its right name, the Will. But, although he tried to work out a speculative metaphysics on a realistic basis, he completely misunderstood the nature of the Will. The Will is not a mere will-to-be, but it strives after an ideal. Such a will alone, *Wille zum Guten*, and not the will to-be-at-any-cost, *Wille zum Leben*, of Schopenhauer, constitutes the true essence of the ultimate world-principle, which manifests itself in the world of plurality as the principle of change, generation and progress, supports the heavens and the worlds, and reveals itself in man as the Self of his self, and as the ultimate ground and foundation of his moral aspirations. And such a Will is the Vedāntic Brahman, an eternally self-differentiating spiritual principle of change and generation, evolution and progress.

Schopenhauer's view of matter is only a modification of Leibnitz's pan-psychism. Prof. Stout, in his *Manual of Psychology*, Intro., Chap. III, has also upheld pan-psychism, and says that there is a psychical element even in matter. Prof. Bosanquet, however, holds pan-psychism as "a gratuitous hypothesis" (Principle of Individuality, p. 366). As the world-whole is the manifestation of the Will, the Vedānta maintains that there is a psychical element in matter also, and that all existents are ultimately 'feeling things,' 'reals.' There are, however, different grades of 'reals.' And man alone is fully conscious of his 'realness,' of his living self-existence, as a finite centre of the Infinite. And this is what makes him an end to himself, in the strict sense of the term. He alone is distinctly conscious of the infinitude of his soul, as well as of his capacity to realise the divine in him by his individual efforts. And that is what makes him "the crown and apex of creation."

How to read the Vedānta.

Now, to elucidate the Vedāntic view-point of Reality, the manner or process of its self-differentiation into the world of plurality, as well as the nature of the relation between the One, the variously diversified Reality, and its various individual modes, the Vedānta has used three kinds of analogical arguments side by side. One set deals with the nature of the Ultimate Reality, as a principle of unity-in-difference. One of the other two sets is intended to bring out and emphasise the element of difference between the Reality and its finite modes and the other set to indicate and explain their ultimate and essential unity, and the moment-to-moment dependence of the modes on the Reality, whose modifications they are. But this sort of treatment of the subject matter, has, evidently, an inherent drawback of its own. If, for an apprehension of the Vedāntic doctrine, one ignores the first and third set of arguments, and relies entirely on the second set, he will discover nothing but pure and unmixed dualism in the Vedānta. If one, on the other hand, ignores the first and second set of arguments and illustrations, and relies on the third set exclusively, he is apt to fall into the opposite blunder, and to think that Vedāntism is nothing but a magnified type of Eleatic metaphysics. But both these interpretations of the Vedānta are equally wrong, one-sided and anti-Vedāntic. The Vedāntic teachers themselves were clearly aware of this defect in their treatment of the subject. They have, accordingly, left no stone unturned to warn their readers, while dealing with the Vedānta, always to be on their guard, and never to divorce the three sets of arguments from each other and to destroy their organic unity. Bādarāyana himself has most distinctly told us (Vedānta Sūtras, III. 2. 20) that simile is always meant to illustrate one point only, and not all, *omne simile claudicat*, for otherwise it would not be a simile at all; and that, as such, a simile must always be taken strictly in the sense it is intended to convey, and must never be understood in a wider sense. Nimvārka, Śankara, Rāmānuja and scores of other commentators on the Vedānta have also echoed and re-echoed this warning. But, in spite of all such warnings, the Vedānta has often been grossly misunderstood. And what is worse still, some of these very commentators have fallen into the dark pitfalls against which they themselves have cautioned their readers. And this has naturally made confusion worse confounded. Śankara himself, as we shall show hereafter in another article, has been one of the greatest offenders in this respect. He has completely ignored, or tried to explain away, the first two sets of arguments, and has transformed the eternally self-differentiating Vedāntic Brahman, the eternal spiritual principle of change and generation into an ever-immutable Pure Being of the Eleatics, and has been driven to declare the plurality of existents as illusions, fictitious appearances—as mere phantoms of unenlightened human imagination, Ignorance, or Avidyā. And an overwhelming majority of scholars in the West, and many in the East as well, who have implicitly relied on Śankara as an infallible guide, have only unawares been hurled into the same abyss. Another class of Orientalists—Prof. Oldenberg belongs to this class—have fallen into the opposite blunder, and have discovered clear and unmistakable germs of Sankhyan dualism and pessimism, as Prof. Oldenberg calls it, in the concrete spiritualism of the Vedānta. We shall fully discuss Śankara's position, as well as that of the Western scholars who have followed him hereafter in a separate article. Here we shall briefly examine Prof. Oldenberg's contention and point out its absurdity.

Prof. Oldenberg's mistake.

"The doctrine of the Brahmanas regarding the Atman," Prof. Oldenberg tells us (Buddha, 1882, pp. 33, 39-40), "do not form a system," and in them "the most irreconcilable differences remain in juxtaposition, probably without their inherent contradictions having been even noticed." "The Atman," he adds, "pervades things, as the salt which has dissolved in water, and pervades the water; from the Atman things spring, as the sparks fly out from the fire, as threads from the spider, as the sound comes from the flute or the drum. As all the spokes are united together in the nave and the felly of a wheel, so in the Atman are united...all the worlds, all gods, all beings, all these egoities 'He who dwells in the earth,' it is said of the Atman, 'being in the earth, whom the earth knows not, whose body is the earth...that is, the Atman." And, accordingly, "we may infer," says he, that "the Atman is to the Indian certainly the sole actuality...the only significant reality in things; but there is a remainder left in things, which he is not," and that, "the Atman, as the sole directing power, is in all that lives and moves, but that the world of creatures operated on, stands side by side with the directing power, pervaded by his energy, and yet separate from him...Since then there remains in things a residue which is not Atman, ...naturally comes the expectation that it was conceived to be matter or dark chaos, which, formless in itself, receives its form from the Atman, the Source of form and life." Again, "if the Atman," he continues, "be commended as 'who is above hunger and death,' who is there who does not detect in such words a reflection, though it be not openly expressed, on the world of the creature, in which hunger and thirst, sorrow and confusion are at home, and in which men grow old and die ?" (*Ibid*, p. 42.) In such utterances we find, Prof. Oldenberg concludes, "the birthplace of Indian pessimism," and one feels naturally disposed to infer that "that the One, the happy Atman, has chosen to manifest itself in the world of plurality, of becoming and disease, was a misfortune : this is not openly stated... but they cannot have been very far from this thought when they proposed to man as the highest aim of his effort, the undoing in his case of the manifestation, and the finding for himself a return from the plurality to the One." (*Ibid*, 42-43.)

Now the above lengthy extract clearly explains Prof. Oldenberg's position. But evidently, partly owing to his Neo-Platonic prepossessions, and partly owing to his having approached the Vedānta through a wrong track, he has entirely misunderstood the real significance of the Vedāntic Panentheism. There are two points in his contention, namely, the alleged presence of Sānkhyan dualism in the Vedāntic teachings, and their pessimistic drift and the conception of metempsychosis. Here we shall only briefly examine his first point. It will be evident, from the following passages of the Chh. and the Brih. Upanisads themselves, from which Prof. Oldenberg has selected the passages mentioned above, that his contention is entirely groundless. Uddālaka asked his son, Śvetaketu, on the latter's return from his preceptor's house, on the termination of his studentship, "Have you, my dear son, ever asked for that instruction, by which all that is unheard becomes heard, all that is unperceived becomes perceived, all that is unknown becomes known?" "What is that instruction, revered father?" asked the son. "As, my dear son," replied the father, "from one clod of clay all that is made of clay is known, *the difference being only in the modifications signified by their names, arising from speech,* but the truth is that all is clay; and as, my dear son, from one nugget of gold, all that is made of gold is known, *the difference being only in the modifications signified by their names, arising from speech,* but the truth is that all is gold.......Thus, my dear son, is that instruction" (Chh. Up., VI.[1] 1, 3-6). This memorable passage has been a veritable bone of contention between Śankara, on the one hand, and most of the other commentators on the other. But, read between the lines, it evidently admits of one interpretation alone. In spite of all individual differences, the various modifications of clay or gold, as the case may be, have their essential identity, inasmuch as they are all modes of one and the same substance, differently modified in them. Thus, by knowing the substance its modes are virtually known; or better, the substance can alone be known in and through its modes, and, when so known, the unknown modes of the substance also become known in this manner. This is the great truth which Uddālaka in this famous passage has tried to impress on the mind of his son. The expression that 'the difference lies in names alone,' does not, in any way, negate or deny the reality of the modes, as Śankara and his followers wrongly think it does. Here the term 'names' is evidently to be understood as 'signs for the things signified.' So the expression only means that the differences are only due to the various modifications signified by their respective names; but that their substance is the same, that the same substance exists in them all, diversified in different ways. So, by knowing a clod of clay, or a nugget of gold, or Brahman, as the case may be, all its modes become known in their essence. The father's object was evidently to teach the son the great truth that all existents, in spite of their individual differences, are but different modes or finite centres of the self-manifestation of one Ultimate Reality, Brahman, that reveals itself in and through them all. "In the beginning," the father added, "there was, my dear son, That only, which is, One only without a second .. ..It thought, 'May I be many, may I grow forth?'" And it became all these. "*All these are modes of the Self,*" "*Etadātmyam* idam sarvam." The word, '*ātmyam,*' the modes of the Self, is quite significant, and involves a clear admission of the existence and reality of the world of plurality, as modes of one Ultimate Reality, the Self. (Chh. Up. VI. 2, 1 & 3; VI. 8-7) Bādarāyaṇa has also taken this passage exactly in this sense (*cf.* Vedānta Sūtras, II. 1, 13 & 14). The Brih. Up. (I. 4, 10), similarly declares, "That one became all these,"—Tat sarvam abhavat. The same Upaniṣad in the Madhu-Vidyā still more clearly tells us, "This Self shaped itself after the shape of everything, that it might unfold its essence." The Katha Up. (V. 9-12) also tells us, "He Who manifests himself in many forms." This is, in fact, the one cry of the Upaniṣads and the Vedānta Sūtras, and it is writ large in letters of gold on every page of the Vedānta. Evidently then, the Vedāntic view-point of Reality is Unity-in-difference; and there is absolutely no germ of Sānkhyan dualism in the Upaniṣads, nor do the Upaniṣads have anything to do with the immutable Pure Being of the Eleatics, as we shall see more fully clearly hereafter.

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[1] *Cf.* Max Müller, Six Systems of Indian Philosophy, p. 164; S. B. E., I. P., 92.
The whole dialogue has been translated by Deussen, Gough and others, after Śankara's interpretation of it.

It is evident, from above, that the Vedānta teaches nothing but Concrete Spiritualism. The three sets of analogical arguments referred to above must, under no circumstances, be divorced from one another; for they are intended only as inter-related elements of one organic system of thought. In the sea of the Vedānta, the mariner has, therefore, to be always on the watch-tower, and must know how to steer clear of the Scylla and the Charybdis referred to above, which have, unfortunately, been the grave of the reputation of many a good sailor.

N. K. DUTT

THE GOLD EXCHANGE STANDARD DURING AND AFTER THE WAR[1]

(*A Comparative Study*)

In this short paper I shall outline the history of the Gold Exchange Standard in India and elsewhere during and after the war. The future of the Indian currency system is yet obscure. Neither the Government nor the expert opinion of the country seem to be clear as to the goal of our monetary policy. Eminent Indian Economists believe that the Gold Exchange Standard has proved a failure during and after the War and should be replaced as soon as possible by a full-fledged gold standard. A discussion of the questions, whether the Gold Exchange Standard has collapsed hopelessly and whether the Gold Standard has fared better, would not, I hope, therefore, be considered irrelevant.

Our currency troubles began when our exports showed too great an excess over our imports. The currency and exchange mechanism could not cope with the extremely one-sided trade that occurred in the recent years. During the War and just after the Armistice the Indian price-level lagged behind the world price-level. There were only two alternatives—either prices in India had to rise to the full extent of the rise abroad or Indian exchange had to move upwards above the par of normal times. Scarcity of silver and the danger of the paper currency becoming inconvertible stood in the way of a very rapid expansion of the Indian currency. The rise in exchange of the rupee was thus inevitable.

A Gold Standard country like Sweden had to face the same dilemma. India experienced one of the alternatives of a changed ratio between the price-level at home and outside.

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[1] Read at the Bombay Economic Conference, January, 1924.

It was a rise in exchange above the legal par. Sweden experienced the other alternative—too rapid a rise of prices. She ran such a risk of being choked with gold that the free coinage of gold had to be suspended. Thus her Gold Standard collapsed. And we must remember that she was not a belligerent country. The strain of the War was severer on India than on Sweden.

Returning to the history of the Indian Exchange we find more dramatic changes after the War than during the War. After the Armistice the demand for India's raw materials was stronger than ever as there was a boom of manufacturing activity in England and America. Silver, which was controlled during the War, was decontrolled early in 1919. The price of silver soared higher and higher and after it went the rupee. I believe greater attention has been paid, in explaining India's currency difficulties, to the high price of silver than to the more fundamental cause of the abrupt changes in the ratio between the price levels at home and abroad which brought about extremely abnormal conditions of foreign trade. This will be clearer as we see later events.

By an irony of fate the Babington Smith Currency Committee submitted its Report when the rising wave of the post-war boom had nearly reached its crest and when a downward movement was imminent. The Committee's decision to push the rupee up in exchange to 2*s*. gold was probably justified in the light of the circumstances at that time. But its warning that in case of an abrupt fall in the world price-level this decision was to be reconsidered was strangely ignored. And this contingency did come about. The boom which was raising prices and cost of production in a vicious circle came to a sudden halt on account of the inability of the consumer to pay higher and higher prices. War-devastated Europe could not stand the strain and an acute trade depression set in. Prices in India, however, did not come down as quickly as the falling prices brought about by the slump abroad. The balance of trade which was so strong in India's favour now swung violently round the other way. Under such circumstances a high exchange policy was manifestly impossible. It was persisted in, however, and a heavy loss was incurred by the sale of Reverse Councils at rates much higher than the market conditions justified. Just as the rupee rose in exchange in spite of all attempts to keep it down when the Indian price level did not rise as rapidly as prices outside, similarly it fell in exchange in spite of all attempts to keep it up when prices in India did not fall *pari passu* with the fall in the world price level. In the latter part of 1920 exchange was left severely alone by the Government and the rupee sank very soon even below the pre-war level. For some time it seemed as if the rupee, which had become unlinked from gold on account of the collapse of the Reverse Councils machinery, had been linked again with silver from which it had been divorced in 1893. But if the rupee fell in exchange, the gold price of its silver contents soon fell still lower. The fall in the price of silver was as dramatic as its rise and was mainly due to the demand of the East for the precious metals being satisfied by heavy imports of gold which was now available from the U.S.A. In 1921 the decline of the Indian export trade and of the exchange value of the rupee reached the lowest depths. The acute industrial depression had become world-wide and harvests in India had disastrously failed. Exchange slumped to 1*s*. 3*d*. sterling in May, 1921. Had the import trade also not been severely depressed the fall in exchange would have been much heavier. Towards the latter part of 1922, with the removal of the embargo on the export of food grains, the rupee seemed to rally at the par of 1*s*. 4*d*. During 1923, with a slow return toward normalcy, exchange also has shown more firmness. The sale of Council Bills which was suspended since January, 1920, was resumed exactly three years afterwards. But as only a limited quantity is sold, these sales cannot stop the appreciation of the rupee. Government has not yet made up its mind to maintain exchange at a fixed point. The object of these limited sales of Council Bills is only to remit part of the Home Charges. At present exchange is showing great steadiness at 1*s*. 5*d*. But before we sum up our conclusions as regards India let us have a glance at conditions outside.

Let us first see how those countries have fared which have adopted the Gold Exchange Standard not, as it were, unconsciously but deliberately and under the law of the land. During our last Summer Vacation I visited Siam, Straits Settlements, etc., partly in the role of a pilgrim to Buddhist lands and partly with the object of studying on the spot the history of the currency and exchange of these countries in the last five years. A detailed account of these currency's studies will soon be published. Here I shall only give very brief sketches of the changes during and after the War.

Siam, an independent Buddhist kingdom, has become modernised within the last twenty years and the history of its Gold Exchange Standard, introduced in 1908, is extremely interesting. The pre-war exchange value of the silver tical was 13 ticals to the pound sterling, *i.e.*, 1 tical equal to 1*s*. 6½*d*.—a rate which remained stable for more than twelve years, 1906 to 1919. It was in 1919 that currency troubles began in Siam. Her export trade, especially in rice, was extremely brisk. Ticals were required at Bangkok, the capital of Siam, in larger and larger quantities to finance the rice exports, a considerable portion of which went to Europe. But silver had been decontrolled in that year and its price was soaring higher and higher. The silver ticals began to disappear rapidly from circulation because they were now worth more as bullion than as currency. The Siamese Government hesitated at first to raise the rate of exchange. The fineness of the subsidiary silver currency (quarter ticals, half tical, etc.) was considerably reduced. No new ticals were minted. But these measures did not suffice.

The strong demand for ticals and the rising price of silver made it necessary to raise the rate of exchange in September, 1919. By the end of the year exchange mounted up to quite a high figure (2*s.* 1¼*d.*) compared with the normal sterling parity. But the tical was never raised by more than 2*d.* at a time. It was also thought that the higher value of the tical was somewhat effective in reducing the price-level in Siam.

Meanwhile, the Siamese paper currency, too, underwent considerable modifications. To meet the balance of trade, which was so strongly in favour of Siam, notes were required very urgently especially as silver ticals were no longer minted. The invested portion of the Paper Currency Reserve was gradually increased at the expense of the specie portion. One-tical notes were issued. At last the paper money was declared temporarily inconvertible. The inconvertibility did not prove such a rude shock to public confidence as was feared at first.

The outward rush of rice and the consequent heavy demand for Siamese currency, which now took the form of a demand for notes, continued well on into the spring of 1920. A disastrous failure of the rice crop, however, completely reversed the position in the summer of 1920. The demand for Siamese currency died away. As the balance of trade now swung violently against Siam there was a strong demand for sterling to meet the requirements of importers.

The tical portion of the Gold Standard Fund, which exists to maintain the parity of the tical, had to bear a very severe strain as long as there was the unprecedented excess of exports over imports. Exchange Banks during this period were paying foreign currency abroad and were demanding ticals in Siam. The Government had to lend to the Gold Standard Fund ticals out of the Treasury. Since the latter half of 1920 the sterling portion of the Fund had to bear the brunt. The banks now paid ticals in Bangkok and demanded sterling abroad. However, with the aid of the Treasury which eked out the sterling resources of the Gold Standard Fund—exchange was maintained at the high level to which it had risen by the end of 1919.

With the stoppage of rice exports there took place a great contraction in the note issue. In 1922 the coin reserve in Siam against the note issue was forty-four per cent. of the value of the notes outstanding. If we include money kept on current account and fixed deposit to the credit of the Siamese paper currency reserves in banks in London and Paris—we reach the very respectable figure of 72% of the total note issue. Convertibility could easily be restored. But as the Siamese Government is waiting for a return to normal conditions to introduce some important changes in the whole currency system, the period of inconvertibility has been extended to January, 1925.

Another outstanding event of 1923 was the lowering of the exchange value of the tical by order of the Government in January. It had been kept steady for over three years at the high rate reached at the end of 1919. But a high exchange was felt as a serious drawback by Siamese exporters especially on account of the depressed condition of Europe. The present rate, however, is yet higher than the pre-war par. Prices are also coming down from the dangerous heights reached just after the war.

To sum up I may quote what H. H. Prince Bidya told me in the Ministry of Commerce, Bangkok: "Our currency policy has been a fairly successful one. We have passed through critical times and have fared better than most other countries."

I may also add here that it is to the kindness of H. H. Prince Bidya and Hon'ble Mr. Lyle, the British Consul-General in Siam, that I owe my information on Siamese currency and exchange.

Now let us pass under review the recent experiences of the currency system of the Straits Settlements. In 1906 a Gold Exchange Standard was established and the exchange value of the Straits dollar was fixed at 2*s.* 4*d.* The dollar is also the standard coin of the Federated Malay States through which I had to pass in my train journey from Singapore to Bangkok. The Straits Settlements, with its great rubber industry, soon felt the effects of the European War. Here also there was a prodigious demand for local currency to meet the requirements of trade and industry. The paper currency was declared temporarily inconvertible in 1917 and in 1918 new subsidiary coins of reduced fineness were issued. A large number of very small denomination notes (of ten cents and of 25 cents) also came into circulation at this time. As regards the subsequent history of the Straits currency I shall give here a brief account of my conversation at Singapore with Mr. Talma, the Deputy Treasurer of the Straits Settlements.

In response to the demands of trade and industry the quantity of money in circulation was nearly doubled in the period 1914 to 1918. Then in the year 1919, owing to the great rubber boom, there was such an abnormal expansion that by the end of that year the net circulation of currency was nearly double the net circulation in 1918. The expansion consisted wholly of paper currency. It is my personal belief that such violent fluctuations in the quantity of money in circulation were due to the fact that exchange was kept stable and was prevented from rising when the favourable balance of trade of the Straits Settlements was becoming too favourable. The demand for currency came mostly from American and Japanese business men who had invested heavily in rubber. Such was the intensity of the rubber craze that food crops all over the Malay Peninsula were entirely neglected—almost all available land being given over to rubber plantations. Prices rose very fast with the abnormal expansion of currency.

But in 1920 rubber slumped down and by 1921 the net circulation of currency had dropped down to 50% of that in 1919. A drastic change in the price level followed. This is another example of unstable prices at home when exchange is kept stable though conditions abroad are unstable. The American and Japanese business men are fast leaving the country as the rubber industry is for the time practically ruined.

In May 1920 the silver dollar, the monetary unit of the Straits Settlements, had to be reduced in fineness and weight. Also the paper money was declared incovertible during the period 1917 to 1921. Now that convertibility has been restored there is very little demand for silver dollars. I saw only one silver dollar during my stay in the Straits Settlements.

But in spite of all these currency difficulties, exchange was kept stable throughout and the Government takes great pride in the fact. Probably this stability was maintained at the cost of great fluctuations in the price level. But the Straits Government are firm supporters of a steady exchange and have successfully resisted all proposals to tamper with it.

In this connection it must be noted, however, that the Straits currency is now on a sterling basis—not on a gold basis. Had the colonial authorities stuck to the gold par of 2*s*. 4*d*., the dollar would have mounted in 1919 and 1920 to 4*s*. sterling. But the authorities followed sterling and dropped flirting with gold. The currency ordinance which came into force on 1st October, 1923, has now legalised this sterling basis.

Now let us turn to the Dutch East Indies as Java is so close to Singapore. I could not go to Java as the time at my disposal was too short, but through the courtesy of P. R. Boger, Esq., the Dutch Consul General at Singapore, I managed to get up-to-date information about the currency system of the Dutch East Indies. It must be remembered that the Gold Exchange Standard was first established as a practical monetary system in Java by the Dutch Government as early as 1877. Thus it is the oldest Gold Exchange Standard country and I am glad to say that the vitality of its currency system has not been impaired by the World War.

There was not much fluctuation in exchange during the War between Holland and Java. Only very recently the Java guilder has gone down just a little in terms of the Dutch florin. Though the paper money had to be declared inconvertible yet gold for making payment abroad could be had from the banks. No currency changes are pending as the system has stood the test of the war fairly well.

As regards the Philippine Islands, I intended to go there to study on the spot how Kemmerer's great experiments had fared. But as I had to come back from Bangkok, I have to depend on information supplied to me by Mr. Abrecht—the American Consul General in the capital of Siam. It is a very interesting history but I can only say here that the authorities made a muddle of everything by ignoring the main principles laid down by Kemmerer. The large reserves were invested in long-time capital loans which could not be recovered when cash was required to meet exchange difficulties. Also an amalgamation of the Paper Currency Reserves and of the Gold Standard Reserves weakened the whole system. The new Currency Act of 1922 attempts to re-establish currency legislation as it stood before the unfortunate changes were made in Kemmerer's system. It is interesting to note that the Philippine exchange did not collapse on account of the appreciation of the Peso during or just after the War. It was the depreciation of the Peso in 1920 and 1921 which caused the breakdown. The Philippine paper currency, however. has remained convertible throughout.

Now let us have a hurried survey of other currency systems, which are not professedly on the Gold Exchange Standard basis. You all know that in recent years Australia and South Africa have virtually abandoned the gold standard, The currencies of both these gold-producing countries (and we must remember that South Africa is the most important gold-producing country in the world) consist now of paper money. Exchange is maintained with England by means of bank reserves in the Dominions and in the mother country. This is really the Exchange Standard plan. To quote the Editor of the *Economist* :

"The interests of gold-producers plainly lie in the earliest possible restoration of gold standards throughout the world. But the fact remains that the idea of an independent return to the gold standard is not so much as mentioned in Australia, while in South Africa it found small support and was deliberately rejected in 1920."

Egypt, too, has ceased to have a gold currency in circulation. In 1913 Keynes wrote of Egypt as the only country with a Gold Standard where gold currency was not economised by the use of paper money or of Bank deposits. The notes of the Egyptian National Bank issued against British Treasury Bills form at present the sole currency of that country and Egyptian exchange with British has remained very stable in recent years.

Let us now turn to Europe. During the War gold currency ceased to circulate in all the belligerent countries and found its way into Government Reserves. The old mint pars disappeared and purely conventional pars were established where Governments could arrange to get credit abroad. Certainly all this was a close approximation towards the Gold Exchange Standard.

After the War the same statement holds good of nearly every currency in the world which has not collapsed hopelessly. An attempted transition from an inconvertible paper regime to a real Gold Standard is sure to break down as the international competition to get gold would send up the price of gold too high. We must remember that the world's production of gold in recent years has been considerably below the pre-war output. Gold has to be economised and this can be done by the Gold Exchange Standard. Such is the opinion of the Financial Commission of the Genoa Conference of 1922.

Again a gold standard is no safeguard against an unstable price level. The gold exchange standard lends itself much better to a scheme like Professor Fisher's for stabilising prices. Prof. Copland in his tract on the Australian currency has made this point quite clear.

After this review of the Gold Exchange Standard in the world let us turn back to the problems facing us at home.

Should exchange be stabilised at a fixed point? We seem to have had enough of a fluctuating rate of exchange with its blighting effects on foreign trade. Public opinion, of late, apparently favoured stabilisation at the old par of *1s. 4d.* Currency experts like Professor Jevons and Sir James Wilson also endorse the same view. But the rupee is already *1s. 5d.* and shows remarkable steadiness at that point. Reverting to *1s. 4d.* would mean considerable inflation. Then we must remember that the worldwide trade depression has not yet come to an end. It is said by competent authorities that in 1920 the mistake was committed of fixing exchange at the time of a prodigious boom—should we now take the risk of stabilising exchange during a trade slump of unexampled intensity? The English price level has fallen more rapidly in the last three years than Indian prices. In England a substantial rebound is expected to occur as a reaction after the sudden drop. We should, therefore, wait and see a little longer till at least England and some of the other countries, which were not hit so badly by the War, recover from the depression. I believe after another year we shall be in a better position to discuss the new par of exchange. Probably it would be higher than *1s. 4d.* The *2s.* rate is, of course, impossibly high.

We have seen that the Gold Exchange Standard has not been such a failure as some are apt to think. It bids fair to oust the gold standard in many important countries. I believe that a gold standard in India would be really only a limping standard which would be decidedly a retrograde step. It would destroy the prestige of the rupee without strengthening our exchange. The prestige of the rupee extends beyond the borders of India in many parts of Central Asia. When we visited Western Tibet on our pilgrimage to Manas Sarowar in 1922, we found to our great surprise that even in the Forbidden Land the Indian rupee was much preferred to the Tibetan silver currency.

We can, however, perfect our Gold Exchange Standard. We depend here too much on the price of silver. The issue of paper money covered by Bills of Exchange has already been a success. I think that the quantity of currency notes issued against Indian securities should be replaced by paper money issued against Commercial Bills. The "created securities" should go once for all. They are a blot on our currency system. The Gold Standard Reserves should be kept partly in India not only to disarm criticism but to supplement the rupees in the Treasury Balances when Council Bills have to be cashed on a large scale. Lastly, the rate of exchange once fixed should not be considered so sacrosanct as not to admit of any change. But no considerable change should be made abruptly. Slowly and tentatively the rate should be accommodated to changes in the world outside. The history of the Siamese Currency and Exchange is a good illustration of this point.

B. R. CHATTERJEE

A RATIONALISTIC VIEW OF POESY[1]

II

PERCEPTION OF DIVINE BEAUTY.

Devotional spirits, among whom poets take a prominent part, are not agreed as to how best to enjoy the beauty of God. Most of them express this beauty as visual beauty. Bliss lies in seeing God (দর্শন). Some find divine pleasure in listening to the voice of God. Less ambitious natures are satisfied with listening to or uttering His name. Some find it in listening to the flute of God. Some smell Him. Chaitanya alone would not be satisfied unless he could taste Him (কৃষ্ণাস্বাদন). This need not be confused with consubstantiation, which appeals to utility more than to beauty. There the substance of God is swallowed, not His beauty tasted. The bread and wine of the Lord's supper may taste sweet or bitter, but that is not the thing that the Christian cares for. Perhaps a bitter taste would not deter him from eating the flesh and blood, for the supper is an essential rite in his faith. The search for beauty is fundamentally different from the search for salvation. The latter is imperative ; the former is left to choice.

It will appear that for the realisation of God men try to reach him through one or more of the senses, forgetting that sensuous perception is the lowest and most primitive form of realisation. We cannot blame them. The origin of the conception of God and the idea of man's communion with Him, owe much to the poets. Anthropomorphism is not a religion of Reason. It is based upon Faith and nursed by emotion, helped by the sense of beauty and the poetic faculty Poetry finds its ultimate consummation in the *Puranas*—in the delineation of the loves of Krishna and the military powers of Kali. Poetry creates idolatry, and idolatry nurses poetry.

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[1] The first part appeared in the *Calcutta Review* of May, 1924.

Even the most philosophic poet might think of God as a dancing personality run mad with joy in the Rains and making waltzes with His tangled locks of hair made of clouds loosed in the monsoonish sky.

Even the Sanskrit language labours under the same defect as the languages of the West in regard to a distinct general term to express the idea of beauty. The word *Rasha* which primarily means sweetness of taste, has been generalised to mean the agreeableness of all phenomena perceived through all the senses. *Rasha*, however, has the advantage of expressing not only different degrees of sweetness, but all their opposites of bitterness by the manipulation of prefixes. *Surasha* and *Kurasha* mean sweetness and bitterness respectively. The word Beauty admits of no such manipulation. Good beauty and bad beauty would be un-English. What is known among *Vaishnavas* as *Rashlila* is a divine revelry in *Rasha* in respect of all the senses. The word *Rasha* has been extended to intellectual and moral beauty also, so that it includes all kinds of beauty, though in ordinary intercourse it still means sweetness of taste. Poets use the word *Rasha* to mean the power of exciting emotions and desires. Thus *Adi-Rasha* has the power of exciting sexual desire ; *Rudra-rasha* excites anger and indignation, and is closely connected with the military instincts and their concomitant pugnacity. The West revels in the last *Rasha* ; the East in the first ; I mean as the primary traits of the two hemispheres ; and as a consequence the West follows the ethics of enmity, and the East that of amity. What are virtues in the West are vices in the East, and conversely. The very sentiments and instincts of the two stand in opposition to each other. Rudyard Kipling proved himself a seer, when he said "the twain can never meet." Their contact is beneficial or agreeable to neither. The house in which they live together is noisy and noise-some. Arbitrariness and turmagancy mar its peace. In a word the East and the West may be briefly distinguished as characterised by the instincts of Love and those of Hate respectively. The Love of the East and the Hate of the West are both adulterated. The Love has drawbacks, and the Hate has redeeming features, but fundamentally they are Love and Hate, and nothing else. The East has been nationally weakened by love : the West has been strengthened by Hate. Both Love and Hate have their limits of propriety, which have been exceeded in both hemispheres. The West now wishes to improve her civilisation by loving, the East by hating. Both are mistaken. The mixed ethics of amity and enmity is corrupting the morals of both the hemispheres. Co-operation has now a charm for the West ; and competition, for the East; but the charm is illusory in both cases. Nothing can bridge the gulf between the East and the West except a new social experiment drastically commenced from the inception of the social organisation. It is not my purpose to dwell upon the implications of this statement. But it seems to me that complete destruction is an essential preliminary to wholesome reconstruction. The East and West, according to Rabindranath can unite, though not wed. He means perhaps that they can live in concubinage.

THE RASHAS.

A large percentage of poems in India deal with *Adi-Rasha* while a similar proportion in Europe is associated with *Rudra-Rasha.* Epic and lyric alike have this characteristic. In some poems both the *rashas* are united. Gallantry was a trait of knight-errantry ; and in ancient times sexual love was mainly responsible for wars, and poets had the advantage of both the Rashas. Sordid gain lies at the root of it in modern times. Sexual jealousy lends itself to poetry. The jealousy of cupidity does not ; and nobody expects an epic written on the great world war, the greatest war of the world either in ancient or modern times. Civilisation has weakened poetry in another way also. The emotions though strong, work vigorously, but secretly, without immediate external manifestation; and without this manifestation poetry finds itself invertebrate. Hypocrisy is much stronger than before, but it is so subtle and artful that poesy cannot catch it. Hence with every advance in civilisation poetry recedes into the background.

Ninety per cent. of the poems deal with sensuous beauty. The beauties of size, colour, form, warmth and scent are united in the beauty of the Rose. The Himalaya and the Pacific have the beauty of size, the beauty of height and depth. The Nightingale has the beauty of sound. But the perception of beauty is as much a subjective as an objective phenomenon; and association of ideas connects one kind of beauty with another. Ocular beauty creates auricular, tactual and palatal beauty. The child refuses to believe that the red fruit is insipid. The lover at first sight is reluctant to believe that the beloved girl has a hoarse voice, or a bad breath. The poet finds ocular beauty in the *Kokil* because it sings sweetly. On the other hand, the crow is doubly ugly, because its acoustic quality is loathsome, though in form and colour it resembles the sweet-singing *Kokil.* The association of ideas that finds fancied beauty of a general kind in actual beauty of one kind, is the cause of treacherous proclivities and venereal maladies. A beautiful feminine face attracts sexual attention without allowing time to find whether actually she is living in hell, as a leper or as a sufferer from other contagious diseases. Poetry ennobles the stupid self-sacrifice and sings in praise of the unscrutinising blindness of Love. Indeed, where Reason and Calculation enter into love, it becomes unpoetic.

PERFECTION OF BEAUTY.

Woman who has been, to all intents and purposes, turned out of her. position as a being and reduced to that of a thing, combines in her person all the several kinds of beauty either by the gift of Nature or by the power of Art, and so far one of the chief aims of civilisation has been to supplement by Art the deficiencies of Natural Beauty in woman. Perfumery was invented for her hair ; rouge for her face ; drapery covers her deformity ; the piano supplements the defects of her larynx, novels are written to sharpen her tastes for association with the masculine sex. Toilette is an art by itself; high-heeled boots have been discovered for increasing the beauty of her feet; Calisthenics are resorted to to improve her gait; and Paris is the centre of civilisation. Hosiery, millinery, drapery, perfumery and a host of other words have added fullness and beauty to language. Poetry, music, perfumery and fine art are devoted to feminine beauty more than to any other object. They seem to have been made for the glorification of woman, as if man were heartily ashamed of the measures which had urged him to degrade woman; and as if he were sincerely resolved to make amends for his past lapses and misbehaviour towards her. Whether woman has gained by this civilisation of toilette may be doubted, but there can be no doubt that humanity has lost by it. Illusion has been increased and intensified, while hypocrisy has received unprecedented expansion. If half the energy devoted to the enhancing and ennobling of feminine beauty were expended in adding to her liberty and in restoring her to her natural position as a being, mankind might be much happier, at least less miserable than now.

Half-exposed beauty tingles the nerves more exquisitely than does beauty the whole of which is laid bare. Beauty strengthens itself by half concealing itself, and by allowing only flashes to radiate out of it. Permanently exposed beauty loses its charm after a short exposure. This was perceived by the artists of the East very early. The veil over the face of woman was not the work of politicians, but of artists and poets. Italian artists took their inspiration from the East to produce feminine pictures to the best advantage. The Persian *burkha* is a corruption of the veil invented by necessity. Refined veils have been invented in the civilised countries in the shape of fine silken nets. The corset is an invention to oppose Nature, inspired by the love of beauty at the expense of health. The high-heeled boot is another invention of the same kind. As a rule the desire to treat woman as a beautiful thing rather than as a human being has deeply permeated society; it has permeated woman's nature itself. The poetic love of beauty is responsible for this abasement of the feminine sex. A beautiful woman after thirty can retain her reputation only by desperate efforts of art; and poets and artists avoid her as much as possible. Novelists have particular aversion to old age in women. Feminine beauty created the first prompting to poetry. Sabitri, Sita, Damayanti, Droupadi and Radhika, were all young women. Kunti excited the angry passions even of the Sage Bhisma, and she was old. Feminine beauty is the originator of *Adi-Rasha* (the mother of sweetness or beauty). Poets have no patience with old women; they are as ugly as they were beautiful in youth. The term "old woman" is an invention of the poetic imagination. The best contrast between Beauty and Truth lies in the fact that while Beauty is ephemeral, Truth is eternal.

NATURE AND ARTS.

It is a trite saying that the poet is born. The philosopher is a self-made man. The poet-philosopher? what is he? Is he born or made or both or neither? Jest apart, the whole idea is an inheritance bequeathed from an unscientific to a scientific age. There was a time when law and miracle commanded equal belief; when the law of heredity was vaguely appreciated; when special creation as the theory of the origin of life held the field; when the theory of biological evolution had not yet been discovered; when men had not yet bee convinced of the impossibility of a lioness bringing forth fox, or a vixen a lion. The idea of the poet being born h been transmitted from that glorious age of history. Man among us, even cultured men, are still unable to shake it of Sometime before Darwin or Spencer enlightened the worl Carlyle had boldly asserted from personal experience that th genius is *made* in a deeper sense than he is *born*. It is no difficult to trace the origin of the old idea. Men trained in a inappropriate atmosphere tried to cultivate poesy and failed The cauliflower does not grow in the rice field, and manur required for potato will not help its growth. Out of despai unsuccessful poets threw the blame on God. Their complain was received as a compliment by the successful poets, acquiesced in by the common crowd. Idiots and old wome regard gifts as more valuable than acquired property Beggars regard alms as more valuable than earnings of wages That is how we see sturdy beggars in our society. Poets ar naturally flattered by the unscientific notion, which regard them as chosen individuals. The most flattering epithet i the world is "poet-philosopher;" to the pride of birth it add the glory of acquired possessions; to the charm of beauty i adds the light of truth. The poet-philosopher handle Beauty and Truth with the lightest heart. They are mutuall helpful in him. He has nothing to fear from sneaky critics; his reputation easily silences them. But I doubt if the fame of a poet-philosopher can have stability. Coming generations divide his philosophy from his poesy, and try to scrutinise them separately. It is not impossible they soon find the poesy poisoned by philosophy, and the philosophy diluted and corrupted by poesy. Emotioned Reason and Reasoned Emotion are both abnormal. God made Beauty to please men. He bestows Truth to enlighten them. Emotion and Reason are man's inheritance. Do they keep pace with each other in the progress of civilisation? If not, which predominates at last? Is anybody prepared to say that in the long run, that in the ultimate end of life, Emotion will dominate Reason? There are men who think that Reason will not only dominate the emotions, but will actually exterminate them for their obstinacy and perversity. This is significant. Philosophy will rule the world. The emotions will be pushed to the wall, or even put out of life altogether. Poetry will disappear; for its flesh and bones are made of the emotional staff. Poetry has already declined in its fight with Truth and Reason. More humiliation is in store for it. It has tried to enter into partnership with Reason, and has now all but become a sleeping partner. In recent times D. L. Roy challenged Reason and directed his appeals entirely to the emotions. On the other hand, Dr. Rabindranath has been coqueting with Reason, and transferred his affections from the masses to the hermaphrodite class of emotional Rationalists. His emotional strokes are too refined to affect the heart, and his Rationalist blows lose their force before they actually strike.

LOVE AND HATE.

Beauty excites love directly. It excites hate indirectly. Feminine beauty has often led to duels and wars. The Iliad, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are poems inspired by the war-generating force of feminine beauty. It has communicated to war in the past the highest beauty relished by man. Feminine beauty is the result of the combined efforts of God and the Devil. God intended it to remain pure, loving, eternally fresh and virgin. The devil added the elements of enchantment, lust and hate. Poets generally pretend to ignore the latter, while religious men lay all emphasis on it. St. Mael of Penguin fame declared that "woman is a cleverly constructed snare by which men are taken even before they suspect the trap." God created visual beauty in woman, and the devil added tactual beauty, while man imparted to her jealousy, hypocrisy, and the habit of extempore lying. Feminine beauty, while superficial attention is paid to it in society, is losing its influence on the serious business of life. It has lost its war-generating power. Beauty has made room in that respect for utility in Western civilisation, thereby illustrating the well-known truth that in order of time decoration precedes dress. By analogy we may find that in the order of social progress poetry precedes philosophy and science. Poetry is for the primitive, philosophy for the advanced man.

The earlier wars of the tribes were divided in their objective between beauty and utility. The conquerors made slaves of the conquered men, and wives of their women. This addition of utility to beauty does not prove the falsity of the above law of precedence. In those primitive times, the passions, like the senses and the faculties in the lowest living beings, were not fully differentiated. The race-preserving and the self-preserving passions and powers had not yet attained full development in bifurcation. When the development came, the race-preserving took precedence of the self-preserving passions. Tactual beauty was placed higher in the scale of preferences to palatal beauty. In Western civilisation now, men who do not care for marriage and are indifferent to feminine beauty are excellent connoisseurs of comestibles. In them the self-preserving appetite is dominating the race-preserving passions. Science is conquering Nature, it is conquering the Muses also. Poetry is subordinated to Philosophy; Beauty to Truth. The Nineteenth century has produced no Dante or Milton; no Shakespeare or Moliere. The Muses have taken refuge in Parnassus in fear of the aggressive propensities of science and philosophy. Poet-philosophers try to ferret them out of their hiding place by the top-lock of their hair, and in their frenzied endeavour to taste beauty, desecrate them, stab, mangle and mutilate them with the dagger of what they call Truth. Where the call of Truth is strong the call of Beauty must be weak, for in the present pathological condition of the world the antagonism between Truth and Beauty is more conspicuous than friendship between them. A philosopher-poet is no blessing to mankind. He is an anachronism. Beauty has been divorced by Truth, and turned out of his house for her developing impurity of character.

CONTRAST.

Beauty is contrasted with ugliness on the one hand, and with Utility on the other, the first as opposite, and the second as alien. Modern industry is trying to make Beauty and Utility live in the same house on friendly terms. Useful things are made beautiful by painting, drawing, chiselling, bevelling, curving, embroidering, pleating, bordering, lacing, etc. Crockery is painted and given beautiful forms. Wooden furniture is bevelled and curved; clothes and carpets are embroidered, bordered, coloured, etc. But the Muses are jealous, and feel ill at ease when Beauty is made to subserve Utility. I have not read any poem on painted crockery or coloured silk, though the tastes of this utilitarian age are distinctly directed to the union of Beauty and Utility. Poetry is here lagging behind civilisation out of a false pride. Instead of submitting to fate it is getting sulky. It seems civilisation will gradually banish poetry from the face of the earth, or rather that the Muses will ultimately hide themselves permanently in the caves of Parnassus disgusted with the progress of civilisation. Poetry may disappear, but Beauty will not. She will be united in wedlock to Utility, and will receive honour but not power in human affairs. Beauty will no more have anything to do with war and peace, though courted everywhere except in literature.

NOURISHMENT.

The new world of utility and industrialism is not creating new food for poetry; and the few poets that still keep poetry alive have to draw upon old materials, and work upon old background, using old pigments, lightened or corrupted by new solvents. Mrs. Lily Strickland Anderson thus speaks of the desperate efforts of Dr. Tagore to give life to moribund poesy.

"He (Dr. Tagore) sees India's old pantheon as an artistic background upon which to paint new pictures, as a treasure house to draw upon for rich jewels of imaginative poesy with which to make a different pattern, as an intricate tapestry whose warp and woof is brightened with threads of gold and silver lightening the dull dark fabric of an early conception. To all thinkers the past must be a valuable store-house to which he (they?) can from time to time go for instruction or for material to work over according to the fashion of his (their?) mind and generation."

The passage is illuminating for the future of poesy, which must expect no new material, no new instruction, no new jewels, no new conception, not even a new canvass, but only threads of gold and silver to lighten the dull dark fabric of an early conception. Dr. Tagore is said to have evolved "to the tops of the mountains, reaching up to the light," leaving, to all intents and purposes, the Muses to brood in melancholy in the lower altitude where light is softened by shade, where rollicking delights do not exist, but only quiet joys mingled with less agreeable feelings. The truth is Poesy cannot dwell on the unmitigated sunny heights of mountains. She is dazed by the glare of the light of Science, and is too delicate to bear its heat, and prefers to hide herself in the shadowy valley below, where she plays with the beauty of superstition, and holds sports with the pleasant tyranny of the dead. Science not only withholds new foodstuffs from the Muses, but robs them of all nutriments, and leaves them to starve. They on their part prefer to go hungry and naked rather than debauch themselves on the unedifying products of modern civilisation, or debase themselves by accepting sordid service at the disposal of Science. They prefer freedom to comfort, abstemiousness to gluttony in pickled carrion. They will have nothing to do with utilitarianism, materialism, industrialism, or agnosticism or atheism, and will never pander to them. Industrialism which succeeds militarism is superior as a process of life, but militarism with its victories and joys, its defeats and anxieties, its hopes and fears, has its compensation in the dances of the Muses who are impervious to the call of the dull, dreary, sordid gains of capitalism or the everlasting squalor, loathsome bestiality, and unending complaints of labour. The War of Capitalism and Bolshevism does not invite them to appear at the Counting House or the Stock Exchange in their best form. Lockouts and strikes do not move them. These things belong to the collective life of man, to impersonal personalities, to soul-less, Godless beings, who neither ask for their aid nor look with favour on their voluntary interventions, which they consider as aggressive intrusiveness. I have never read a poem on any of these subjects, and am of opinion that no poet would be foolhardy enough to risk his reputation on themes like these.

(*To be continued.*)

K. C. SEN

PLEA FOR SOCIOLOGICAL STATISTICS

A close examination of the intricate texture of the modern Western society will reveal that there are an infinite number of gradations in social scale which makes it impossible to draw an arbitrary line anywhere and point out "here are the few rich or upper barbarians,"[1] the comparatively comfortable middle class, the lower middle class not above wants, the many poor who are below "the poverty line" and the "residuum" which is "economically dead" as Sir R. Giffen would style them.

The Western statisticians have hit on the best way of understanding these different classes of society by noting their broad characteristics which differentiate the one from the other. The rich people might not necessarily be, as the socialist orator depicts them, given over to sensuous pleasures and revelling in effeminate luxuries with the spoils obtained by "robbing the labourers of their legitimate dues."[2] All of them are comfortably placed in life either by the accident of birth or a windfall or their earned income is large enough to enable them to command luxuries which the materialistic civilisation of this century might be creating. Some of them can and do make a good use of their income in extending their culture and refinement and would be willing to share their good things of life with less fortunate neighbours of their own. A few of them might be holding exaggerated notions of the poorer classes as those living in hopeless and sordid poverty varied only by drunkenness and vice. Others might utilise their dignified leisure to public service and social good of the community.

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[1] *Vide* Matthew Arnold, "Culture and Anarchy," III.
Vide Veblen, "Theory of the Leisured Class," pp. 378-379.
Vide also Grey who styles the students of the Eton College "These are our young barbarians at play."

[2] *Vide* Carlyle, "Past and Present," 153-154.
Also Ruskin, "Works," XVIII, 537-538.

The middle class consists of varying grades of people. The term is so indefinite and lacking in exactitude that nothing can be dogmatised as the economic standard pertaining to this section of society. From the point of view of an ordinary labourer, the shopkeepers and the small tradesmen belong to the middle class while he reserves the appellation of "lady" and gentleman to members of the rich class. The aristocrat would consider the professional people as constituting the main bulk of the middle class. The peculiar characteristic of this class of society is that it merges into the next class, at both ends of its scale. The merging of the middle class into the rich class is intentional and the merging of the middle class into the poor class is a confession of its failure. Broadly speaking it may be considered as a well-conditioned body minding its own business and remarkably free to a certain extent from prejudices so characteristic of the other classes.

Manifold are the gradations in the poorer classes and the general tendency of the individuals is to classify all as the poor class who do not share their wealth or occupy their position in life. The working class is always below the "poverty line" with income barely sufficient to enable them to command the prime economic necessities of life, *viz.*, food, clothing and shelter.

Coming to the residuum the following are some of the characteristics belonging to "men" of the lowest grade of society. Unlike the economic man, the individual of this class is marked by the absence of foresight, self-control and always depends on "something to turn up" to help him. He is markedly impulsive and reckless which sometimes makes him prodigally generous, at other times inconceivably selfish. He has an inherent disliking to steady work and has natural affections almost bordering on animal instincts.

But it would be difficult to arrive at such clearly demarcated divisions of society in this country. We have a social system which exalts the less material side of our civilisation. Economically viewed there are a number of middlemen living parasitically on the land. In Bengal, Madras and Western India the people are showing marked predilection for industrial life. But agriculture is still the mainstay of our population. The middle class people consists of the professional, clerical and petty trading classes which possess quite a different standard of life from the agriculturists. Imported goods form a large portion of their consumption. The Zaminder class reaping the benefits of the Permanent Settlement comes next. While the social structure of the West is always in a state of perpetual flux or in a dynamic condition leading to the breaking down of social divisions or the creation of new lines of social cleavage which in its turn may be modified within the course of a few generations, no such rapid alterations in the social scale are to be noticed at any particular time in this country.

The aim of sociological statistics [1] is to divide society into so many composite classes and study their marked characteristics with the object of noticing any variations and measuring their attributes. It should attempt to discover any relations and casual connections amidst the bewildering pile of facts and figures compiled in the course of a wider economic enquiry than is usually attempted either by the government or private associations of any particular country. The sole object of this statistical study of social phenomena is to create social consciousness which in its turn would produce economic policies.

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[1] For a fuller understanding of the scope of this subject one should read Mr. A. L. Bowley's, "Measurement of Social Phenomena."

The Government of India and the social reformers bestow much of their attention on "working class" budgets because there is likely to be insufficiency which has to be remedied. In order to obtain a correct idea of the ignorance or poverty which are the chief characteristics of the economic condition of the Indian society more attention would have to be paid to the study of the "middle class budgets." The middle class people are specially anxious to live or appear to live at a standard proper to the possession of a large income and as a result they are generally badly off. Amelioration of their lot is no less important than in the case of the working class people alone. Remedial measures in this case would be quite different from those intended for the working classes.

Unaided private investigations of solitary workers would fail to visualise the magnitude of the problem and at best they can supplement or fill up the gap of official statistics. In addition to this they may be coloured by political prejudices, personal bias and preconceived notions. They may be lacking in requisite skill to conduct the investigation in an extensive manner. It is high time for the Government of India to employ its clerical force to prepare typical family budgets of the middle class people and it is by judiciously interpreting such barren tables that may be compiled that the real significance of the two prime evils of the Indian society, namely, ignorance and poverty can be grasped.

The general problem of sociological statistics requires immediate attention. Much of the present stock of statistical material published by the Government is purely a bye-product of its administrative needs. The decennial census gives us a glimpse into the long vista of the complex social organisation and if it should at all be reconstructed according to a definite ideal much more spade work has to be done in the statistical field. Private Associations of the stamp of the Bengal Social

Service League and the Servants of India Society at Poona have undertaken in right earnest an intelligent study and solution of these problems.

The Government of India is as a rule—with few exceptions—unmindful of the social reforms such as housing schemes that are needed for the amelioration of the economic condition of the people. It is not this alone that needs an immediate solution. The problem of rational social control is no less urgent in this country. This involves not only a greater and greater control over the growth of population but involves a study of the eugenic value of the different classes of population so as to deduce useful conclusions as regards the desirable rate of increase in population, the section of society that should increase and the way of propagating the better stocks of our population while allowing the unfit to be weeded out. Taking the last decennial census into account the population of India has been increasing and the following conclusions have been arrived at after a study of the facts and figures relating to the size and sex constitution of the average family. "The rate of masculinity is higher for the first-born than for subsequent children, that the usual number of children born is from five to seven—the number being higher in the South than in the North and in the lower classes than the higher, and finally between one-third to two-fifths of the children die." Should the population go on increasing in an arithmetical progression? Should the poorer classes by virtue of their constant and progressive increase fast become pauperised? Should not the misery and suffering due to overcrowding of population in big cities like Calcutta and Bombay be checked? Should we be prepared to accept the fact that the average duration of life of an Indian is becoming progressively shorter? Should not health legislation be resorted to to benefit the people? Should the present social abuses such as the subjugation of women, child marriage and infantile mortality go on unchecked for ever?

How and by what means is it best to raise the standard of living?

A satisfactory solution of these grave problems can be attempted only if the approximate money values of our production, be it agricultural or industrial, can be obtained. For correctly appraising the social problems the way in which these incomes are expended have to be studied. A humble beginning has been made in this direction by Mr. G. F. Shirras, the Director of Labour, Bombay, and his excellent study of the working class budgets of about 3,000 families in Bombay Cotton Mills enables one to have an idea of the characteristics of the working classes and clearly points out the remedies that have to be adopted for the betterment of these classes. This line of inquiry has to be extended to the wider field of our society. Middle class budgets have to be compiled, the facts digested and conclusions arrived at.

An early beginning would have to be made in this direction and before the rural middle class families can be studied, attention should be paid to the study of the budgets of representative or average middle class families living in big cities like Calcutta or Bombay. The Government machinery exists in both places to do the necessary work and the problem of income of the urban middle class families can be successfully measured while the measurement of agricultural income is not so easy a task.

While a statistical study of the family budgets is undertaken attention should be paid towards the following facts. While arriving at the family income, the usual method of ascertaining the individual incomes in the first instance and aggregating them in order to arrive at the joint family income can be followed. In the Hindu joint family all the incomes are pooled together and the economic goods and services purchased with it are distributed by matriarchal arrangements. Of late the income-earning individuals have been asserting their right to possess the whole earnings and the object of the statistical study should be to note the extent of this disintegrating influence. Usually the earning individuals spend a portion of their income on their own needs and the greater the compositeness of the family or if it were a well-to-do family the privately spent income of the individuals would be large. Care must also be devoted to note the amount and hours of work spent to obtain the income, the number of dependents or non-workers to be supported with the income. The economically unproductive members of the Hindu joint family actually lessen the available wealth of the earning members of the community.

In considering the expenditure side of the family budget the first thing that has to be done is to deduct the payments for goods and services necessary for earning the income. For example a doctor has to maintain a vehicle to attend his calls and while noting his way of expenditure the first thing should be to arrive at is his net income.

Taking the prime necessities of life, food, clothing and shelter an attempt should be made to note if the families are living at the minimum cost or if there is any amount of elasticity in it, so that if economy is forced on them, they may curtail expenditure without sacrificing any of their dietary articles without a loss in health and efficiency. Coming to the house rent paid by the family it should be noted if there are any alternative uses to which the houses can be put to. It is very often said that in Calcutta house rents are very expensive not because of satisfaction enjoyed but because the alternative uses of the ground are valuable. There is no doubt that the rent problem which includes rates, etc., to be paid falls heavily on Calcutta families and no economy can possibly reduce it without affecting health and decency. It might after all cost more in the long run.

The most elastic item in the family expenditure is the amount spent on dress. It has become the habit to imitate the ways of the rich even though it would result in sacrificing the comforts of the family. The extravagances of the weak rich will find an echo in the extravagances of the middle class with the difference that what is extravagance to the former is ruin to the latter.

Payment for domestic service is to mind children or to perform the sundry services of the household, including cleaning the utensils, looking after the house, running after errands, doing marketing services and guarding the house in the absence of the master who is out during day-time for his office. Domestic service is generally carried on by the aged, the maimed and the halt who have been handicapped in the battle of industry.

Another item in the expenditure of a Calcutta family is the doctoring and its incidental expenses. The local practitioner's charges range between Rupees Four to Rupees Six and the middle class people prefer paying this to free doctoring at the Hospital as it would involve *ghari* fare and waiting for hours for his turn and a chance of developing serious illness in the waiting rooms.

Education is an important item. Though books and papers can be had at free libraries children are sent to schools and fees paid. It should be the aim of the statistical study to see to what extent the education of girls is neglected and study the character of education imparted.

Washing charges also amount to a decent figure. Though generally it is done mainly at home, the insistence of cleanliness prompts them to greater expenditure sometimes than is actually necessary. Subscriptions to clubs and societies are usually limited by foresight and considerations of thrift prompt the middle class to lay by a part of their income as savings for a possible utilisation against a rainy day and their spirit of independence is so keen that they resent others helping them. Sometimes expenses on social ceremonies such as marriages, funerals and other ceremonies when they are made, are made on a lavish scale of extravagance and as Sir M. Viswesvarayya observes, "families thereby cripple themselves and have to scrimp and scrape for years and even for life." Music halls, theatres, drinks and highly flavoured food and sweets which are only luxuries to the poorer classes sometimes become the necessities of some of the middle class families. Remittances to native places in support of family at home have also to be reckoned. Payment for taxes or the interest on debt previously incurred would have also to be reckoned.

While these above charges are always recurrent there is always the temptation of new wants and desires created by the Western civilization. To satisfy these cravings by their stationary income, living on food of bad quality and sometimes overcrowding are resorted to. This process of "refined starvation" to which the middle class subjects itself and which unfortunately drags itself over a period of years has to be studied. Attention should not be rivetted solely on working class conditions alone. The middle class family should be raised "to a lofty plane of existence, pregnant with fruitfulness, learning, achievement, contentment and good will." The amount of their income, a rough idea of their expenditure and a correct grasp of the margin of taxable capacity are absolutely essential before measures for improvement of their social ills can be undertaken. Taking the example of the United Kingdom the brilliant contributions of Mr. Leonard Chizzio Money, Mr. A. L. Bowley, Mr. A. C. Pigou, Edgar Crammond, Sir Joshiah Stamp, and Mr. Seebohm Rowntree are too well known and their statistical study affords the necessary bricks for the statesmen to plan their schemes of constructive reform.

The Government of India should realise that "unless our country is rich in men, in its middle class, in men of good stamina and physique, there is an essential ingredient of the country's wealth which was missing." As one economist says,

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY [1]

It is a year since Prof. Radhakrishnan's first volume of *Indian Philosophy* saw the light of day. We have been inordinately late in reviewing this great book; in the first place, because, the book was so full of information that it needed time to go through the whole of it; and in the second place, because, the present reviewer's point of view was so much like that of Prof. Radhakrishnan himself, that he could not know exactly how to review it. Prof. Radhakrishnan's book is a very illuminating survey of the progress of Indian Philosophy from the times of the Vedas to the formation of the four schools in the Buddhistic fold. We eagerly expect Prof. Radhakrishnan's Vol. II, on Indian Philosophy and we hope that it will be as illuminating as the Volume under review. Prof. Radhakrishnan's style is simple and lucid; but it is at the same time so concise and penetrating that one must needs read the whole of the book thoroughly before one can form a correct estimate of the value of the work. There are no short-cuts to the knowledge of Indian Thought, and one must study a book like Radhakrishnan's to possess a full philosophical knowledge of the whole period. Indeed Prof. Radhakrishnan comes to the study of Indian Thought from his knowledge of the Contemporary Philosophies of the West, and it is almost impossible to find another man who would be able to give a correct philosophical estimate of the progress of Indian Thought in terms of European Philosophy. That is the special feature of Prof. Radhakrishnan's book, and in reading him one does not feel one is reading any arid accounts of philosophical problems, couched in their dry and unconsequential contexts, that have scarcely any value for one who wants to estimate the significance of philosophical theories for life, thought, and action.

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[1] "Indian Philosophy" by Professor Radhakrishnan, Calcutta University, George Allen and Unwin, 21s. net.

In the opening chapters of his work, Prof. Radhakrishnan discusses the significance of Vedic and Upanishadic Thought. As regards the Vedic deities, Prof. Radhakrishnan understands them correctly as personifications of forces of Nature, and he does not take that view of the Vedic deities, for example, which has been taken by "the great scholar-mystic, Mr. Aurobindo Ghose." In a series of articles contributed to the "Arya," Mr. Aurobindo Ghose suggested that the Vedic Religion must be understood as a mystery religion corresponding to the Orphic or Eleusinian religions of Greece. Beneath the concrete and material presentation of the Vedic Deities, according to Aurobindo Ghose, there lies a spiritual and psychological significance which is concealed from the profane, but is revealed only to the initiated. This is a view which Prof. Radhakrishnan commends as a bold and suggestive view no doubt, but which could, at the same time, not be understood as a correct view, inasmuch as the Vedic hymns manifestly contain a number of petitions to the deities, supplications for material comforts, entreaties for protection and victory, which are the characteristics of any early anthropology. When we come to the Upanishads, it is a different matter altogether. Prof. Radhakrishnan discusses very cleverly all the ethical, psychological and metaphysical bearings of Upanishadic Philosophy. His sections on the "Ethics of the Upanishads" and on the "Religious Consciousness" are particularly very illuminating. We are told how the highest ideal of Upanishadic Ethics consists in moral activity being taken over into the perfect life. "Morality has a meaning only in the imperfect world, where man is struggling to realise his highest nature......Moral activity is not an end in itself. It is to be taken over into the perfect life......In this state the Individual Being is absorbed in the Supreme. This alone has transcendental worth, but the moral struggle as preparing the way for it is not useless" (p. 230). We think that nobody has stated the case of Upanishadic Philosophy better than Professor Radhakrishnan has done. In his chapter on the Religious Consciousness, we are told how "in Religion the will of man is set over against the will of God. If the two are one, then there is no morality. If the two are different, then God becomes limited and finite" (p. 233). This is how, according to Prof. Radhakrishnan, the Upanishads teach that we have to transcend the limitations of ordinary religion and rise to "that highest religion which insists on meditation and morality and worship of God in spirit and in truth" (p. 233).

The second part of Prof. Radhakrishnan's work is devoted to a discussion of the three great systems of Thought—the Pluralistic Realism of the Jainas, the Ethical Idealism of Buddhism, and the Theism of the Bhagavadgita. Prof. Radhakrishnan points out cleverly in his estimate of the value of Jain logic that the great defect in their doctrine consists in a belief in Ultimate Relativity, in entire obliviscence of the fact that "the theory of relativity cannot be sustained without the hypothesis of an absolute" (p. 305). "A careful consideration of (of the theory of) Kevalajñāna, or the knowledge possessed by the free," says Prof. Radhakrishnan, "will tell us that the Jaina theory, by implication, accepts the method of intuition and the philosophy of absolutism" (p. 307). Then again Prof. Radhakrishnan finds a significant defect in Jainism, in its denial of God, and in, at the same time, its belief in devotion to the Tirthankaras. "Personal love is to be burnt up in the glow of asceticism. But weak man is obliged to develop a sort of devotion towards the great Tirthankaras, however much strict logic may prohibit it" (p. 331). Finally, Prof. Radhakrishnan suggests how the Jaina view of Reality is almost the same as the Leibnitzian. As Jainism looks upon the universe as full of Jivas, Leibnitz thought that the world was full of Monads: "In the smallest particles of matter there is a world of living creatures, entelechies or souls. Each portion of matter may be conceived as like a garden full of plants, or like a pond full of fishes." But Prof. Radhakrishnan also points out that an Ultimate Pluralism cannot be sustained. "Even Kumārila agrees that the soul has a natural capacity for grasping all things, and there are ways and means by which we can develop this capacity. If we emphasise this aspect of Jaina philosophy and remember that there is intuitional knowledge of the Kevalin,......we are led to a monism absolute and unlimited,......and it is only by stopping short at a half-way house that Jainism is able to set forth a pluralistic realism" (p. 340).

Another system of thought, which arose at the same time as Jainism, but which is of far greater consequence for thought than Jainism itself, was the Philosophy of Buddhism. Prof. Radhakrishnan points out how, just as the ethical age of the Stoics and Epicureans followed the age of Aristotle in Greek Philosophy, so the age of Jainism and Buddhism followed that of the Upanishads in the development of Indian Thought (p. 357). The most characteristic feature of Buddhism is the Philosophy of Change. Prof. Radhakrishnan likens it cleverly to the Philosophy of Bergson. "A wonderful philosophy of Dynamism was formulated by Buddha twenty-five hundred years ago, a philosophy which is being recreated for us by the discoveries of modern science and the adventures of modern thought" (p. 367). "Life," said Buddha, "is only a series of manifestations. There is no Being that changes: there is only a self changing, Pratītyasamutpāda, the origin of one thing in dependence on another" (p. 371). This is the most characteristic feature of Buddhism. It also leads to the corollary that the Atman as an entity does not exist. Prof. Radhakrishnan points out how Nāgārjuna in his commentary on the Prajñāpāramita Sūtra tells us that the Tathāgata taught both the doctrines, the doctrine of Soul as well as the doctrine of Not-Soul. "When he preached that the Atman exists and is to be the receiver of misery or happiness in the successive lives as the reward of its Karma, his object was to save men from falling into the heresy of nihilism. When he taught that there is no Atman in the sense of a creator or a perceiver or a free agent, apart from the conventional name given to the aggregate of the five Skandhas, his object was to save men from falling into the opposite heresy of eternalism" (p. 389). It is this denial of an eternal verity behind all things which is the chiefest defect of Buddhism. A true Nemesis of this denial of Atman in Buddhism came upon them in their final worship of man. "We cannot worship Buddha, because he is no more; and so we worship his relics and doctrines" (p. 448). This is indeed the fate of all the religions which try to deny God. The founders of such religions ultimately usurp the place of God with what justification a mystical philosophy alone cannot judge.

Prof. Radhakrishnan's account of the Bhagavadgita is very full, accurate and profound. The Gita was indeed an application of the Upanishadic ideal to the new situation which had arisen at the time of the Mahābhārata (p. 530). Having discussed the date of the Bhagavadgita, and having pointed out that it might be taken to be the fifth century B.C., Radhakrishnan goes on to give us the varied teachings of the Bhagavadgita. He points out that the Ethics of Bhagavadgita must be taken to be definitely based upon its Metaphysics. Having discussed the nature of Reality Prof. Radhakrishnan proceeds to discuss the conception of the World of Change in the Bhagavadgita, and ends by giving a very succinct and illuminating account of the three Mārgas of the Bhagavadgita, the Jñānamārga, the Bhaktimārga and the Karmamārga. We heartily recommend Prof. Radhakrishnan's treatment of the Bhagavadgita to all those who care for a modern presentation of the thought of their great ancient poem.

In the concluding chapter of his book, Prof. Radhakrishnan discusses the later phases of the development of Buddhism. If the doctrines belonging to the age before Asoka may be said to represent early Buddhism, those in the time of Asoka may be said to constitute the Hīnayāna doctrine, and those after Asoka the Mahāyāna Doctrine (p. 589). The Hīnayāna doctrine wronged the spiritual side of man, and its negative philosophy was not competent to constitute a popular religion (p. 590). Hence the origin of Mahāyānism. Prof. Radhakrishnan discusses fully the doctrines of the four schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism. He brilliantly describes their philosophical and epistemological importance when he tells us on p. 667 that "the Vaibhāṣikas started with a dualistic metaphysics, and looked upon knowledge as a direct awareness of objects. The Sautrāntikas made ideas the media through which reality is apprehended, and thus raised a screen between mind and things. The Yogacāras quite consistently abolished the things behind the images, and reduced all experience to a series of ideas in their mind. The Mādhyamikas, in a more daring and logical manner, dissolved mind also into a mere idea, and left us with loose units of ideas and perceptions about which we can say nothing definite." On the ethical side, Buddhism illustrates the difficulty of a moral philosophy without a spiritual basis (p. 608). "Buddhism failed to bring to India a real spiritual deliverance in spite of the fact that it laid powerful emphasis on a severely simple life of pure goodness ......The real secret of the failure of Buddhism is its neglect of the mystical side of man's nature." To say that it was violently exterminated out of India is, as Prof. Radhakrishnan points out, a pure myth. Its downfall was due to the fact that it became ultimately indistinguishable from the other flourishing forms of Hinduism, namely Vaishnavism, Saivism and Tantrism. In spite, however, of its failure, we must remember that the spirit which breathes in the twelfth

Edict of Asoka is a permanent monument to its greatness: "There should be no praising of one's sect and decrying of other sects, but on the contrary, a rendering of honour to other sects for whatever cause honour may be due to them." If this spirit pervades our everyday activities, if it becomes the foundation-stone of our philosophies and religions, if our politics come to be based upon such a principle, the world will soon be habitable, for God will come to live in it.

R. D. RANADE

THE FLOWER OF RAJASTHAN

ACT V; SCENE 3.

[*Scene.*—A room in the palace of Oodipur. Krishna Kumari discovered alone.]

(*Enter Rampyari. She embraces her daughter passionately.*)

Rampyari—

My babe, my little flower of loveliness,
Whom cruel, ruthless hands would pluck from me,
Each time I set my sleepless eyes on thee
Thence flows a stream of joy that thou'rt alive
And I can hold thee to my breast again
Once more at least, then may be nevermore.
And when I see thee not, an awful fear
Spreads its dark wings and hovers over me,
Ready to swoop and strike, nor strike again.

Krishna—

Why fearest thou, my mother, when thy child
Fears nothing but prolonging of her days?
What is to die but make an end of sorrow?
What is to live but be the cause of pain
Or ever we are born until we die?
Pain to the womb that bare us, pain to all
Whose love is set upon us. I have been
A cause of anguish to the world beside,
The cause of mourning to a thousand homes
Whose sons beloved were sacrificed for me.
But now that I am marked for sacrifice,
Myself the victim, to preserve the lives
Of other thousands shall I shrink from it,
I, a king's daughter? Nay, but I will die

Worthy a Rajput maiden. Those who now
Heap curses on me soon shall bless my name
As one who gladly gave her life to bring
Peace from its exile home again to Ind.

Rampyari—

What to a mother do these things avail
When set beside her child? Let all the world
Return to chaos, so I keep thee here,
E'en but a little longer.

Krishna—

After that
Thine anguish would return as keen as ever;
Wherefore no more the earlier parting fear
Since to be parted is the destiny
Of all who love each other.

Rampyari—

Nay, my child,
Such is the talk of *Rishis*, and it finds
No answering echo in a mother's heart.
Ah, who is that? Methought I saw a form
There in the shadow pass with stealthy tread.
Ah, God! that child of mine should ever be
At mercy of assassins.

Krishna—

Mother mine,
Comfort my father. He hath need of thee.

Rampyari—

Thy father! Name him never more to me.
He hath betrayed me in surrendering thee,
The child I bare him, mine not his alone,
Not his to steal from me, not his to slay.

Krishna—

His always while the breath of life shall last.
The Rana does no wrong, and in his grief
Thy place, my mother, is beside thy lord.
Go, comfort him, I pray thee.

Rampyari—

Then I go,
Not to deny thee, daughter. Bide thou here—
Go not without this chamber. I would be
With thee until the end—and yet I go.
Thou wilt await me? I shall come anon.
Farewell awhile, my darling. Fare thee well.
[*Exit Rampyari.*

(*Krishna plays on the Zithar and sings the following hymn to Hari.*)

The Song of Krishna Kumari

Hari, whose glance on darkness is the radiance of the day,
Whose blossoms are as moon-beams in thy cloud-dark looks astray,
While lightly from thy blue-robed waist a saffron mantle flows,
As a water-lily her golden dust on azure petal strows.

Lift to the lotus of thy lips the plaintive-voic'd reed
That my poor earth-fettered song may soar on wings of music freed,
And the passions of my soul be stirred till they join the mystic Nine
Circling thee round with rhythmic dance in harmony divine.

O Hari, now thou findest me like Radha, found of yore,
Her face as a lotus dim with dew on dark Yamuna's shore,
Still as the evening crescent when it clears the dark hill line,
And sad as is only a human heart when it breaks for love like mine.

And thy soul was stirred within thee as are the ocean tides
By the moon who rules their ebb and flow, and every turning guides;
And her girdle bells were music as she sprang to thy embrace
And the shame that darkened erst her eyes, fled now to hide its face.

Gather this spark of vital fire now earth's sad course is run,
Restore it to its parent flame in the mansion of the sun;
Swift be thy blue celestial car to waft it to the skies
Where comes to life and loveliness each lowliest flower that dies.

(*During the singing of the last verse Ajit has entered accompanied by Rascaphoor veiled. The princess having finished her song sees them and starts to her feet.*)

Krishna—

What do ye here, intruding?

Ajit (*salaaming*)—

We await
Your Highness' pleasure.

Krishna—

Nay, ye are no friends.
What would you have of me?

Ajit—

Your Highness' pardon
For what we bring thee.

Krishna—

If it be the sword,
Krishna forgives thee, Ajit. Who is she,
This veiled lady carrying a cup?

(*Rascaphoor throws back her veil*)

Nay, madam, thou art strange to me.

Rascaphoor—

Belike.

Krishna—

What is thy name?

Rascaphoor—

My name is Rascaphoor.

Krishna—

Nay, I have never heard it.

Rascaphoor—

Little wonder.
Men do not often in a sweetheart's ear
Tell of another mistress; else thou hadst
Learn'd much of Rascaphoor from Jagat Singh
Who called me 'Queen of Amber.'

Krishna—

Called thee Queen?
Then am I honoured now by Majesty?

Rascaphoor—

Nay, 't was an empty title, as 't was proved.
I am no queen. He was as false to one
As to the other. Both of us were fooled.

Krishna—

Woman, presume not to associate
Thy name with Mewar's daughter.

Rascaphoor—

We have had
Both the one lover.

Krishna—

'Tis a lie, a lie!

Rascaphoor—

A lie, thou sayest? Then, perchance, thine eyes
To thy slow wits will let conviction in.

Here is his ring. Thou recognisest it?
Thou shouldst, at least, it was thy gift to him.
A while he wore it—till he gave it me.

Krishna—

O mercy, mercy! This is worse than death.

Rascaphoor—

Ay, death is better far than much we bear.
None knows it better than doth Rascaphoor,
Caress'd one moment and cast out the next.
All but a queen one morning; on the morrow
A malefactress in a common gaol—
Because he wearied of me. The last day
Mine eyes beheld him, he had bidden all
His proudest chiefs to do me reverence.
That evening (at his order, so I heard
I never saw him) I was borne away
Straight to the sunless prison of Nahrgarh
Whence none, men say, emerges. And they said
'T was for thy sake he sent me.

Krishna—

Nay, I swear
I heard no word of it.

Rascaphoor—

I heard of thee.
A wedding was to be in Oodipur
He was to be the bridegroom—thou the bride.
I pitied thee, poor fool—thou know'st him not,
Yet hated thee because thy witching face
Threw mine into the shadow, and thou hadst come
'Twixt me and Amber's cushion.

Krishna—

Peace—enough !
O wherefore comest thou to torture me
In my last moments with thine evil tale ?
How didst thou break thy prison at Nahrgarh ?

Rascaphoor—

The gods at last vouchsafed to grant my prayer,
My prayer that I might live to contemplate
Thine anguish for the anguish I had borne.
Full richly did they grant it. Came a day
When bolt in socket creaked and hinges groaned
And at the opening portals Liberty
Beckoned me forth in service of her cause.
The price of freedom asked of me was slight,
And gladly now I pay it, standing here
To bid thee drink the cup that rids the world
Of the accursèd cause of half its woes.

Ajit—

Peace, woman ! 'T is no part of thy commission
To voice thy private spite in royal ears.
Suffer me speech, Your Highness. None is found
Of noble blood in Mewar who will raise
His hand against your person—Ram forbid !
Wherefore your Highness is excused the steel,
And in its stead the cup hath been prepared.
We are but instruments of higher wills
And crave your pardon for presenting it.

Krishna—

Let us not tarry. What is in the cup ?
If its effect be swift, I am content.

Ajit—

'T is the *Koosoomba* draught, and it will send
Your Highness to a swift and painless sleep,
From which no troubled dawn shall waken thee.

Krishna—

We thank thee, Sire, for this thy courtesy.
Give me the cup.

(*Rascaphoor presents it to her.*)

See, my hand trembles not.
Krishna Kumari is prepared to die.
I drink this soothing death to thee, my father,
The wisdom of thy will disputing not,
My love unaltered; and I drink to thee,
Mewar, dear country mine, and Oodipur
The city of my childhood, dear as life.
For these, high Rama, take the sacrifice
Of one poor maiden's life, and may the plant
Of Mewar's greatness from her ashes spread,
And Peace look kindly on her happier days!

(*She drinks—then falls swooning backwards on to a couch.*)

Ajit—

Is the cup drained?

Rascaphoor—

Ay, to the very dregs,
And Rascaphoor hath nought to live for now.
Vengeance when wrought how poor a thing thou art!

Ajit—

Let us get hence. 'T is danger here to stay.

(Enter Seonath.)

Seonath—

Slayers of women hide their craven heads
At thought of danger. Dust be on thy head
And on thy line for ever for a deed
At which the world will shudder, and a shame
On Mewar's honour till the end of time.
The glory of the Rajput name is gone,
The sons are proved unworthy of their Sires,
Who sword in hand had perished to a man
In proud defiance of the gross Pathan
And thrice as many legions. Get you gone
From this exalted presence. Here there lies
The last illustrious scion of her race,
And Mewar's glory is for aye eclipsed
By this dark deed of horror. I will stay
To bear my witness in my master's cause,
And wrathful Hindustan shall know the truth,
'T was not of Maun to work this woeful hap.

(*Krishna dies*)

Sleep on, O royal maiden, take thy rest,
Won by thy glorious act of Sacrifice.
Thy name is honoured to the end of time,
Thy fame is writ eternal as the stars,
The Virgin Krishna, Flower of Rajasthan!

(*Curtain*)

The End.

Francis A. Judd

THE JUVENILE COURT IN CALCUTTA

A Juvenile Court can justify its existence only to the extent its special purpose is recognized and its distinction from ordinary Criminal Courts is grasped. The general impression seems to be that its only object is to secure, in simpler surroundings, a separate hearing for criminal cases when the accused are not above sixteen years of age. The end to be gained by hearing under such conditions is generally overlooked. The main object aimed at by the ordinary Criminal Court is punitive while the special function of the Juvenile Court is corrective and ameliorative. Disregard of its special function is destructive of the only reason for its existence. An ordinary Criminal Court demands of a Magistrate only a knowledge of the law of crimes and the procedure to be followed in trials. The Juvenile Court is more exacting. It demands of the Magistrate an additional qualification. He must possess sympathetic insight into juvenile character. And unless the officers of his Court possess a measure of such insight the result will not be quite satisfactory.

It will be unprofitable to compare the Calcutta Juvenile Court with that of Denver or the Ohio Bureau of Juvenile Research. For us they shine merely as the star of hope. The Juvenile Court idea originated in America. It took hold of the British mind through the strenuous activity of Miss Olga Nethersole, the distinguished English actress, and has found its way here only within recent years. But there are certain obvious directions in which improvement is exigently demanded and can be easily effected.

It is assumed that only such Magistrates sit in the Juvenile Court who are spontaneously moved in that direction by a feeling for the amelioration of juvenile offenders and that the selection of Court officers is guided by a similar principle.

In this view it is not easy to appreciate the reason for such frequent changes in the personnel of the officers of the Court. Within the year 1922 three officers successively filled the office of Court Inspector and the Bench Clerk's post has not been held by one person during this period. It must be assumed that the adoption of a course, so obviously undesirable, is compelled by exigencies of service which outsiders are not able to understand and much less to criticise.

Most of the petty cases that come before the Court fall into two classes, namely—street mendicancy and obstruction of thoroughfares by sales of small articles. It is generally known and easily ascertainable on inquiry that juveniles are regularly employed by adults who profit by the proceeds of their mendicancy. These adults are as a rule beyond the reach of the law either by cunning or by inactivity of the authorities. As to juvenile street obstructors it is equally well known that shop-keepers use juveniles in that capacity to avoid extending their shop-spaces at additional rent or for other profitable purposes. Such shop-keepers are very rarely, if ever, brought under the law, although in both these cases they are clearly liable to prosecution under section 82 of the Indian Penal Code as abettors. In these circumstances the usual punishment by the imposition of a small fine or by detention of the juvenile offender till 5 P.M. of the day of trial cannot be expected to have and in fact has not any deterrent effect. In view of the negligible character of the punishment it seems by no means safe to convict on the bare admission of the juvenile accused. Wherever practicable corroborative evidence should be produced in Court in the shape of the articles offered for sale by street obstructors. As a result of the nature of the punishment usually inflicted most of juvenile offenders, especially of the latter class, are constant occupants of the dock. Some of these are familiar with the Court and its practice to such an extent that they constantly attempt to play the rôle of advocates for their less experienced companions in guilt. A striking instance of adult abetment of juvenile offence is afforded by a recent case. A boy was prosecuted at the instance of his master for theft of clothing, which the Police recovered from the boy's adult friends. The boy confessed his guilt. The master gave him an excellent character and took him back into service. If the receiver of stolen property was prosecuted to conviction in the ordinary Court the boy was deprived of the moral benefit of such conviction. Had it taken place in his presence the deterrent effect of the punishment would have been obviously of value to the boy as destructive of adult domination of his will, apart from all questions of convenience and economy of public time. It may be worth while to consider whether the existing law providing separate Courts of hearing in such cases is either beneficial or even harmless. The existing law is responsible for another undesirable result. A boy was convicted of a petty theft. His relatives refused to be responsible for his future conduct. Owing to a term of imprisonment on a previous conviction on a similar charge in a Suburban Court nothing could be done for the boy's reform and he had to be sentenced to a longer term of imprisonment, in the Juvenile Jail. Longer stay in the House of Detention by adjournment of cases for order may be more effective if the imparting of moral instruction to a juvenile under detention by the agency of voluntary visitors could be secured. The small effort put forth for the securing of such volunteers has, so far, proved barren of result. Dr. Henry H. Goddard in his "Juvenile Delinquency" (Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.), p. 44, remarks: "We have found that these moral talks are of considerable value to these young people." This confirms local experience, such as it is.

In connection with adult abettors reference may also be made to cases of removal of coal from the Kidderpore Docks without license. The wretched boys freely confess that the coal removed is not consumed in their houses but sold to local dealers who cannot possibly be ignorant of the crime of the juvenile vendors. At present the trial of the juvenile offenders can be fittingly described as elaborately doing nothing. The most useful and easily effected improvement will be to arrange for the separation of old offenders from novices by their detention in separate cells. This practice has been introduced since the above was written.

Attention must also be directed to the lack of parental control exhibited in the great majority of cases in the Juvenile Court. The first thing to strike the observer is the extreme rarity of juvenile offenders among Bengali-speaking Hindus. It seems likely that the class of Calcutta's residents, largely furnishing juvenile criminals, are not grouped into families nor possessed of any circle of relatives or friends worth notice. They are recent immigrants, socially isolated. Bengali-speaking Mussalman youths, though larger in proportion to Hindus, are very small compared with Uriyas and up-country people. There seems to be some slight evidence that criminality among Bengali Moslem youths is not without relation to mothers who remarry and polygamous fathers. In the absence of proper inquiry this conclusion can only be put forward with considerable hesitation. The most pitiable case of parental neglect was that of a Bengali Christian boy. He comes of a fairly good family. His father is away in Mesopotamia, his mother is in Government Educational Service in the United Provinces. His only relative in Calcutta is a paternal grand-mother, stricken with years and infirmity, wholly incapable, even physically, of looking after the boy. He had escaped from the boarding school where he was placed. Whether any steps were taken by the school authorities to trace the boy did not transpire in evidence. He admitted having attempted to steal a piece of cloth hanging from a verandah and tied to the railing. He gave it as his reason for the act that as he had to sleep on the bare ledge of a house he wanted the cloth for a pillow. The grand-mother begged that the boy should be sent to the Reformatory School. In the actual circumstances this was the only course to follow. One neglecting to take order with a dog is amenable to law but is practically beyond law's reach in the case of a human child.

To sum up the suggested improvements:

(1) Steps should be taken to obtain a wider recognition of the special functions of a Juvenile Court particularly by Magistrates and officers of the Juvenile Court.

(2) Adult abettors of juvenile offenders should be brought to justice and whenever practicable tried in the presence of the latter.

(3) Old offenders should be detained in special cells.

(4) Arrangements should be made for giving moral talks to juveniles under detention.

(5) No juvenile offender should be sent to the common jail nor remitted to the care of a relative suffering from leprosy or other similar disease.

The foregoing remarks were put together in January, 1923. It would perhaps be an advantage to set apart observations, arising out of subsequent experience.

In February last a Bengali Christian lady, Mrs. Kerr, who possesses some medical qualification commenced, as a work of love, to give moral talks to the boys in the House of Detention. An instructive incident of her work seems worthy of record. On one occasion she talked to a juvenile thief, now in the Reformatory School at Hazaribagh. On being convinced that his crime had really grieved her, the boy's eyes filled with tears and he gasped out the declaration that had he known his conduct would hurt anybody but the person whose property was stolen he would never have done what he had done.

There is no regular medical visitor for the House of Detention. One of its inmates was a boy who had broken into a house and stolen property of the estimated value of Rs. 500. He looked so suspiciously puny and undergrown that a medical examination seemed necessary. A kindly qualified doctor of the neighbourhood, Dr. K. Ghosh, examined the boy. In medical language he was described as suffering from inhibition of internal secretion. On further inquiry the boy admitted taking as much as Rs. 20 worth of cocaine in one day. This drug habit was sufficient, in medical opinion, to account for his physical condition and obviously for his criminality.

Another instance of a similar nature seems deserving of attention. An Orissan boy was in detention, charged with theft. He was a most rampageous youth. He thrust a little boy through the window pane, breaking it and cutting about the little one badly. Captain Knight, late of I. M. S. was kind enough to examine the boy. He pointed out the defective cranial formation of the juvenile offender who exhibited a marked physical peculiarity. He could not stand with his feet side by side. When he stood up his heels came together, his feet forming an acute angle. Dr. Knight was of opinion that it was a case of degeneracy and syphilitic parentage. In both cases certain forms of medical treatment were prescribed.

It is most encouraging to find the Lord Bishop of Calcutta and some of the officers of the Y. M. C. A. interested in the reformation and general welfare of juvenile offenders. May not this be indicative of fresh recruiting ground for special Honorary Magistrates to work in the Juvenile Court?

In conclusion let the appeal go forth to all whom these words can reach to use their influence and secure more Mrs. Kerrs and more Drs. Ghosh and Knight for these orphans of society.

The very few cases of Bengali Hindus, coming before the Juvenile Court, throw a lurid light on the home life of the classes to which such juvenile offenders belong. The details would be of painful interest to the classes in question as exhibiting some of the consequences of the present conflict between competitive individualism of the West and co-operative collectivism of Hindu India. This conflict is a prolific source of misery to Hindu India generally. How and when this conflict will end and peace descend among the afflicted people must for the present be but a subject of earnest and prayerful thought and action.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

The world has sustained a great loss by the sudden demise of one of the ablest sons of India, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Sir Asutosh was beyond dispute the greatest of Indian educationalists of modern times. His death is a great blow to Bengal, the Calcutta University, and the cause of real progress in India through education.

It has not been my privilege to know Sir Asutosh personally, because I left India some twenty years ago. But my interest for the educational progress of India has made me take notice of the great and systematic work done by this national leader. The Indian people know more in detail of his work, but what made me admire him was his vision and his spirit of independence shown on all occasions when demanded.

If I understand rightly the ideals of Sir Asutosh, I may say that he strove hard so that material prosperity and human welfare in the broadest sense would increase side by side in India. He wished that laws should be so constructed and the country be so governed as to lead to progress and at the same time preserve to the fullest all human betterment. Whenever I think of Sir Asutosh and his plans for the regeneration of the nation, it reminds me of the sayings of one of the greatest educators of America, the late Dr. John Bascom, the President of the University of Wisconsin from 1874-1887. Dr. Bascom once said:

> The state of highest production not only may be, but must be, the state of highest intelligence and virtue; and the highest intelligence and virtue cannot fail to be productive of the greatest wealth.

Sir Asutosh above all things devoted his life for the real well-being of the nation through raising its intellectual standard and creating a group of leaders who would devote their life to be productive of the greatest wealth of the nation. He did so many good things to promote national welfare and it is impossible for any man to tabulate them, but we find that he at least started three movements in the national educational life of India which will remain as Mile-Stones. (1) It is safe to assert that Sir Asutosh gave a new vigour and life to the Research Movement. (2) He was also responsible for starting the movement of Travelling Scholars from the Calcutta University. (3) He laid the foundation for the movement in Bengal for Education, especially higher education, through the vernacular.

Sir Asutosh gave a distinctive stamp to the goal of scholarship of the Calcutta University. It was the idea that the Calcutta University should not only be the premier educational institution in India where the best scholars from all parts of the country should have the opportunity to carry on their work in their own field, but the Calcutta University must be raised to the position of second to none in the world. Yes, it is an ideal worth while fighting for; and he fought for it under great disadvantages in every possible way and tried to secure all support from all quarters. The Calcutta University should not only be the centre of intellectual giants of the world, but it must be the centre of intellectual freedom. This idea of preserving intellectual freedom which has the closest relation with national freedom made him fight the Government of Bengal, particularly Lord Lytton and defied all who dared to encroach upon the independence of the Calcutta University.

The result of the research work done in the Calcutta University in recent years speaks well for the efforts made by him and his able supporters. It was the idea of Sir Asutosh that the vision of Indian scholars should be broadened; they should be given opportunity to study in foreign lands and demonstrate their ability before the world, and at the same time acquire the best that it might be introduced in the

Indian educational world. To promote this Travelling Fellowships were established through the generous support of the late Dr. Rashbehary Ghose, and the late Taraknath Palit and others. He did not stop here but, tried to have the best brains of foreign lands brought to India to teach in the Calcutta University and thus to free India from intellectual isolation. It was he who understood the importance of bringing India closer to America and other countries and thus secured such distinguished scholars as Professor Garner, Head of the Department of Political Science of the University of Illinois and Professor Willoughby of the Graduate School of the Johns Hopkins University. It is through the efforts of Sir Asutosh, that a French Professor is now lecturing in the Calcutta University on International Law. In the field of research he did not limit its scope merely to scientific subjects, but made it as wide as possible and as the circumstances would permit in India. Not only did Sir Asutosh start the work of freeing India from intellectual isolation by bringing foreign scholars, but the very fact that Professor Kali Das Nag was sent to China for a year to study is the indication that he wished to have first rate Indian scholars in all parts of the world particularly in the important educational centres.

The work of imparting education through the medium of vernacular was the hardest of all, because of the opposition of the Government, long established custom and lack of literature in vernacular on various subjects. But he started the work both from the top and the bottom having M.A. classes on Bengalee literature in the Calcutta University and also the movement for free Primary education and imparting instruction in High Schools through the medium of Bengalee received all support from him.

It will be of interest to those who wish to know that some of the American scholars who came in contact with Sir Asutosh regarded him as one the most remarkable men they ever met. One of them was surprised to know how vast was his knowledge of International Law; others were astounded to find out the accurate and up-to-date information he had on what is going on in the field of education in various parts of the world.

Of course all India and particularly Bengal will pay fitting tribute to the departed soul. I have an humble suggestion to make, and this is primarily directed to all who are and have been connected in any way with the Calcutta University and the Bengal educational life, to perpetuate the memory of Sir Asutosh. To carry on his work will be to honour him. Let us do all we can to promote research work in the Calcutta University. Let us make arrangements to have our best scholars sent abroad, and first class educators from foreign lands be secured to lecture in the Calcutta University. Let us also work to make Primary education, free, compulsory, and state-supported, and higher education to be imparted through the medium of the vernacular.

Regarding the research work, Sir Asutosh was fighting with the Bengal Government so that he would be able to furnish the Applied Chemistry Department of the Calcutta University with an up-to-date laboratory. Let us hope that through the efforts of all men and women who respect the memory of Sir Asutosh this work will soon be completed. Let there be a Chair (such as Asutosh Mookerjee Professorship) established in the Calcutta University to teach World Politics and International Law. Let there be a movement inaugurated that a number of Asutosh Mookerjee Fellowships be established to enable the best scholars to go abroad to study and lecture. Let us start a movement that in every village in Bengal there shall be a village school and these institutions will be maintained through the efforts of the people at large and educational volunteers will give their time to further the cause. Let us establish a fund which will be devoted to translating important books from foreign languages into Bengalee.

It will be contended that this will cost money to carry out these ideas in memory of Sir Asutosh. But, if we love him and wish that our memory of him be a living thing, then we must do all we can to further and continue the work he started.

TARAKNATH DAS

OUR MORTAL BREATH

(*From Persian*)

Be not deceived, O man, by life ;
    We are still by the hand of Death
Lull'd to sleep ; our cradle he rocks—
    The gentle in-out of breath.

POST-GRADUATE

THE CHARLOTTENBURG TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL

On the first and second of July last the Technical High-School at Charlottenburg near Berlin celebrated the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of its existence. At present it consists of 76 separate institutes, including laboratories, and museums, accommodated in a number of imposing buildings. When first founded it consisted only of an institute for the training of builders and architects, but about a hundred years ago a technical school was attached. That was at a time when railways were not yet in existence; applied electricity was unknown, and the steam engine was only in the first stage of its development. In 1831 the institute had only thirteen students in its classes. The conditions of admission were that the candidate for admission was not less than fifteen years old, that he showed proficiency in the three R's, that he spelt correctly, wrote a good hand and knew the elements of French and Latin. As a matter of course, the conditions for admission are very much higher now and have been much higher for many years past.

The High-School is divided into four Faculties—

1. The General Faculty (Fakultät der Allgemeinen Wissenschaften), including Philosophy, Literature, Foreign Languages, Economics, Mathematics, Physics, and a department for higher teaching in mathematics and natural sciences.
2. The Faculty of Civil Engineering (Bauwesen).
3. The Faculty of Mechanical, Electrical and Nautical Engineering, and
4. The Faculty of Applied Chemistry, Mining and Metallurgy.

The present number of students is approximately 5,000; the teaching staff consists of 600 members, including assistants; of the academical members 71 are full professors (Ordentliche Professor), and nearly 200 are lecturers. In front of the main building stand the statues of Werner Siemens and Alfred Krupp.

It must be remembered that Germany possesses a number of other Technical High-Schools of University rank. Saxony, for instance, can boast not only of one of the largest Universities, but also of the Technical High School of Dresden, the Freiberg Mining Academy and the Tharand Forest Academy; of other Technical High Schools we may only mention those at Stuttgart in Würtemberg, at Karlsruhe in Baden, at Aachen in the Rhine Province, at Hanover. At the Universities also considerable attention is paid to Applied Sciences. This is all in addition to the numerous modern, technical and commercial institutions of lower than University rank scattered all over the country. The whole of this superstructure is built on a foundation of compulsory primary education, compulsory both for boys and girls.

P. B.

SATYENDRANATH TAGORE—HIS LETTERS

[Satyendranath was the second of the brilliant Tagore brothers and possessed not a little of that literary talent for which the Tagores are deservedly famous. His reputation as a Bengali writer is really great, although the exceptional brilliance of the youngest brother, Rabindra, has kept the others somewhat in the shade. The second son of Maharshi Debendranath, the second great Brahmo leader, Satyendranath naturally possessed a good deal of the missionary zeal so characteristic of the early Brahmo preachers, and ample evidence of this will be found in the first two letters. He was the first Indian to pass the competitive I.C.S. examination in 1863, and all the letters published below were written before that date. One of them gives a graphic and interesting account of his voyage to England. We find in it a vivid description of the hardships that one had to encounter in a journey to Europe in the pre-Suez Canal days. The letter also shows what a genuine Bengali the writer was. He feels the taunts and ungracious jibes of his white fellow voyagers. An ancestor-worshipper by tradition and instinct, he not only makes a pilgrimage to his grandfather's tomb but pays a dutiful visit to Worthing, where Prince Dwarkanath Tagore spent the closing days of his life. And what Bengali heart will not be touched by Satyendranath's reference to the Mangoe season? He joined the Indian Civil Service in 1864, and served in the Bombay Presidency for 32 years. It is nigh upon two years since he passed away. We are indebted to his daughter Mrs. P. Chaudhuri for the following letters.—*Ed. C. R.*]

(1)

KRISHNAGAR,
26th May, 1861.

MY DEAR COUSIN,

We are spending our days in the "Garden of Bengal." We have to suffer now and then from the excess of heat, but Calcutta, I hear, is intolerable now. We are trying our best to promote the cause of Brahmoism. ব্রহ্মানন্দজি's stirring lectures have set Krishnagar all in a flame. We had to fight hard with the missionaries here. People say that they have been defeated with great loss, and one of the orthodox pundits of Nuddea complimented us on our having disconsolated our common foe! We generally take our morning and evening walks. We have a *Laldigee* here, which is a favourite place with us; also the college compound, which is very extensive and delightful,—and the college enclosure, one of the best of its kind. Krishnagar is celebrated for its সরভাজা, and for its beautiful earthenware workmanship. We hope to take some specimens of both with us to Calcutta.

The people of Krishnagar have some peculiarities about them. Brojo Babu and Ramtonoo Babu are very popular here. We are growing familiar with them day by day. Orthodoxy is (on ?) its decline. The Rajah is strictly a Young Bengal, and he generally keeps company with the Europeans. We are all getting on well here. Hoping you are in health of body and peace of mind.

(2)

KRISHNAGAR,
29th May, 1861.

MY DEAR COUSIN,

I have received your affectionate letter of the 27th. I heartily rejoice at it. We are in the habit of neglecting to write to our muffussil friends, I now see how unjust we are to them. We are here so intensely anxious for letters from our Calcutta friends, that the day which passes without a single letter is a heavy day to us. I am glad, very glad, to find a regular and an affectionate correspondent in you. We made an excursion to শ্রীবন on the back of an elephant. শ্রীবন is a pleasure-ground of the Rajahs. No one can enter it without being struck with its wild beauty. There is a শিমুল tree here, which is very wonderful, 3 or 4 walls of more than 7 feet in height have projected from its body; you can make a very comfortable hut with these. Last night we dined at the Maharajah's. He has no Rajah-like manners, but is very frank and polite and unassuming. I don't know whether he is addicted to the drinking vice of the Young Bengal, but he may, for aught I know, take in all the vices, leaving out the excellences of Anglicism, from his constant association with the Europeans. The Rajah has requested Keshub Babu to deliver a lecture at his place. He has certainly no antipathy against Brahmoism, and there is a chance of his being reclaimed. ... ...

We very much wish that my father and all of you (would ?) come here in a boat some time after, and then we will return altogether.

(3)

KRISHNAGAR,
31st May, 1861.

MY DEAR COUSIN,

The day of our return is coming near. We wish very much that my father and you all (would?) come here once and see what has been done. I have requested my father to the purpose, and you will come to know everything if you speak to him on the subject. We are fully alive to the fact that a sensation has been created in many quarters in favour of the ryots. The despatch of Sir C. Wood is indeed very encouraging. The last resource of the planters is thus shut out. The ryots have determined, come what may! not to sow indigo any more. We also hear that matters have turned into the other scale, and that some of the ryots are taking active part to inflict loss and injury on the planters.

However, we hope that the poor ryots will be saved from the cruel grasp of the planters. The Rajah has invited us to spend the whole (of?) Sunday next with him in the delightful forest of শ্রীবন. Let us see whether he can be brought to our side, or not. The college vacation is over this day, and the next week is very important to us. We have plenty of rain now. Hoping you are enjoying the same.

(4)

MADRAS,
ON BOARD THE "COLOMBO."
27th March, 1862.

MY DEAR BROTHER,*

We are four days away from home. We have now come to Madras. You expect from me splendid descriptions of the beauties of the Indian Ocean, but alas! we are insensible to everything around us. That monster sea-sickness has devoured us. We are here cribbed in our cabin. The great Ocean expands everywhere around us. The beautiful breeze is blowing all the time. The golden sun rises and sinks again into the watery horizon, but all these have no charms for us—nothing can get us out of our dungeon.

Both † of us have fallen. Imagine the helplessness of our situation!

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* Probably his elder brother Dwijendranath.

† Himself and his companion Manomohan Ghose.

But I am not taken unawares, I expected as much from the very beginning.

Brahmanand * will tell you what it is that people call sea-sickness. However we hope to get over this to-day, and then you will hear from me again when we reach Galle.

I am now leading here a two-fold life—a waking and a dreaming life. My dreaming hours are all occupied in thoughts relating to home. Then I am again placed in the family circle. All those happy conversations and homely delights gather around me, until all charms are dissipated when I am awakened to the miseries of my present situation. But be careful not to infer anything from this letter. You know that everything appears red to a jaundiced eye. This sea-sickness has cast a gloom over everything around us. The Ocean has no charms for us now. We have scarcely tasted anything these two days. We now feel on what an adventurous life we have embarked. It is too much for the home-keeping Bengalee. Let us trust to Providence and see what mission he has reserved for us to fulfil.

You have now transported us beyond the seas. We won't hear from you till we reach London, a long time indeed.

You, Mezdada, † Hemendra, ‡ Brahmanand and everyone else must send letters to us by the next mail, to the care of Mr. Hudson Pratt, care of Edward Wright Esq., 27, Coleman Street, London. Do not forget, your letters are the spiritual food on which we shall principally subsist.

* * *

I have not written to Father, as he might be out of home.

(5)

LONDON,
10th June, 1862.

MY DEAR MEZDADA,

What a long distance separates us now! We are thousands and thousands of miles away from you all. How many seas, mountains and rivers divide the 'city of palaces' from the city of London. While I write the sun has passed its meridian, but you are all wrapped up in darkness. I can guess what you are now doing. You are probably taking lessons from Bishnoo, whom I figure very well, sitting beside his Tambura, with its everlasting twang ringing in all your ears—a sound which never resounds in these shores. The time of our work is the hour of your dreams. We have now arrived (two ধুতি চাদর souls as Bardada funnily calls us) in a land of jackets and trousers, where you can see nothing but white faces, they stare at us and we stare at them. Our voyage was rather a tedious one, but not wholly unprofitable. We have seen countries, rivers and things which we never dreamt to see, except in pages of books. The most tedious part of our journey was from Galle to Aden, which it took us 10 days to reach, and 5 days more from there to Suez. On our landing at Suez, we entered a Hotel where we took some refreshments. A grand building it is, and the inside was ornamented somewhat in the Oriental fashion. Suez presented to us nothing except a few miserable buildings of sandy rock and some good oranges, which we were very much delighted to taste. After waiting a few hours, we were very glad to leave the place for Cairo *viâ* railway train. Our path lay through a barren and dreary desert, which is certainly an eye-sore to a Bengalee. You who are in green and sunny Bengal, can scarcely imagine a thing like the desert. It is by no means a monotonous sea of sands, for the sands sometimes assume the shape of a range of hills. The things that were wanted to make us feel ourselves in the desert were the burning sun, which was hid in clouds, and that wonderful animal, the camel, whose back is ever welcome to the traveller in this part of the world. Well, we went on in a tortoise pace and came up to Cairo in the evening. It was the land of Egypt that received us with overspreading arms. We spent the night in a hotel called the Shepperd's Hotel. All the rooms were nearly occupied, only one remained for us to get in. But then we did not get possession of the room with a feeling of perfect security, for one of our fellow-passengers engaged it previously, and it was only owing to his absence, and on my friend's assuring the keeper that he knows Mr. M. personally, and that he has seen him taking a different direction, that we were allowed to usurp his place. But we had not been three minutes in that room, occupying it as if it were our own castle, when to our great disappointment the fellow came in, and we were dispossessed of it. We were accordingly thrust into a dark little corner, and had to bear our lot with content. Some spectre-like men with strange faces and fantastic dress were sitting at our doors, and we considered ourselves entirely at their mercy. After all, the night glided away, and we found everything safe and sound in the morning. We came to know that we would have to start off for Alexandria in a short time. We were packing up our clothes and making necessary preparations for our journey, when a short stout man came in and asked us whether we want a barber. I didn't much like to accept his services, but Mon seemed anxious to try him. So the man entered our room and began business without any ceremony. First of all he went on cutting my friend's hair, which was rather uncomfortably long, which he did in a very ugly manner. Then he brought out an egg, broke it and put its contents into the hair and began to rub it smartly for some time. After washing the head and drying it with a piece of linen, the man took out a bottle from his pocket, it was a bottle of lavender, and what do you think the fellow did with it? He began to apply its contents to my friend's body and exhausted nearly the whole of the perfumery in that way. Poor Mon was all the time in a most harrowing and uncomfortable state of mind, not knowing what to say. He was actually bathed with that nasty sticky substance, which was quite disagreeable to him. After finishing the whole affair—"5 shillings please" said the barber. Struck with his audacity, we dismissed him with what we considered to be a reasonable sum. We took our breakfast soon after, and went out to meet the train which was to proceed to Alexandria. We had no ordinary difficulty in getting our seats, for almost all the seats were occupied. After all, we had a carriage pointed out to us by the guard on our applying to him, just 5 or 10 minutes before the time. There were only two Turkish gentlemen sitting quietly in it. Just at the time, to make room for some other passengers, an old shaheb was dispossessed of his seat, and he had to enter the same carriage with us. He was soon disgusted with the smoke of the choorats that the Turkish gentlemen were taking, and went out immediately, quite out of temper, muttering to himself that it was very improper for him to be driven out of his place 5 minutes before the time, and that certainly no railway passenger could get on in England in that way. Well, we went on and our wearied eyes rested with great pleasure on the rich and cultivated fields and men and houses, and we were glad to forget the barren aspect of the country. On our way we budged over two branches of the river Nile, which to us remained in tradition so long. At a station called Damimhoor (?) we could see a funeral procession of the Egyptians, a large number of whom followed a corpse confined in a coffin, which they were going to bury, chanting some hymns which were Hebrew to us. One of our fellow-passengers, an Egyptian gentleman, remarked that these people are called Copts, who are descended from the first Egyptians that became Christians. You are aware that the sword of Mahomet penetrated into this country.; for you no doubt remember the fate of the Alexandrian Library, which was destroyed by order of Omar, who replied, when some one interceded with that sovereign for its preservation, " If they contain what is agreeable with the Book of God, then the Book of God is sufficient without them, and if they contain what is contrary to the Book of God, there is no need of them, so give orders for their destruction." On our alighting at the station in Alexandria, we were at a loss where to go. We followed the horde and we saw some of our passengers stepping into carriages, and driving away to some hotel. In a moment all the carriages were cleared away, and we poor fellows were left behind. Now the donkeymen came up and pressed us hard to ride on their donkeys. To tell you the truth, I had a great desire to try one of these animals. Mon was very reluctant, but he was in a manner forced to betake himself to a donkey. No sooner did we get up on their backs, than they began to run without stopping. We could hardly prevent ourselves from falling. One's 'jubba' rolling to one side, one's cap falling off in the streets, and what not. Mon's donkey was quite unmanageable, and he was like John Gilpin utterly confounded. Imagine us, my dear Mezdada, to be on the back of two unmanageable donkeys, our clothes all disordered, confusion sitting on our face, and surrounded by the gaze of wondering spectators! On our coming up to a hotel Mon was quite tired and disgusted, and promised never again to try an experiment like this. After an hour's rest, we were summoned by the bell to dinner, and a curious dinner service it was! The various dishes that were prepared were not suffered to be placed on the table at once, so our curiosity was checked a little. The dishes came out one by one, and one dish had to be exhausted before a fresh one was given out. In this way we went on for a couple of hours, until our patience was quite tired. This was considered to be the French way of serving dinner. The servants belonging to the hotel were many of them raw Frenchmen, and they did not understand a word of English. So we were put to some difficulty in making ourselves intelligible. We got up early next morning, and took a drive in the city. Among the curiosities that were pointed out to us, we were particularly struck with an edifice called Pompey's pillar, a single block shaft of red granite, nearly 70 feet high. The capital a single block, and the base pedestal, etc., also a single block of granite, each 10 feet in length. Erected it is said at the time of Sesostris, but by some is supposed to have been built by Publius (?) Prefect of Egypt, in honour of the Emperor Dioclesian. Time has made no irruptions on it, and it is as firm as ever. The City of Alexandria I must say is a fine one. The European part of the city is particularly handsome. The streets are wide, with a grand open square, in which the hotels are situated. The houses are large, and built of limestone. It was very interesting to observe the motley groups that were passing and repassing by us. The Dragoman (as the guide is called) ever and anon imploring us to accept his services, in a tone peculiar to himself. Do you want a dragoman Sir? The Arab boys continually bothering us to take a ride on his infernal donkey, tradesmen bringing out their choicest articles and displaying caps and *burnouses* (a kind of overcoat) golden shoes and so on. The Egyptian lady covering her face with a veil, and having only an opening for her eyes to peep through, beggars shouting their everlasting bucksish;—all of which presented a most curious sight. At half past 2 o'clock in the afternoon, we took leave of the city, and went with a glad heart to meet our steamer "Pera," which was waiting for us. In a few minutes we were placed in a small steamer which carried us to our ship. A fine and noble ship it is! Oh, how shall I describe the feelings that arose within me, when the "Pera" greeted us with its manly warlike music, calculated to infuse strength even into the languid frame of the Bengalee. When the Mediterranean, the scene of so many battles that have decided the fate of nations and empires was lying stretched before me, I thought that I have now passed the limits of Asia and breathe the manly atmosphere of Europe. The weather was intensely cold to us, and the ship was rolling heavily. We were the only two blackies that appeared amidst white faces that crowded the ship. Oh, how proud the blackie feels when for the first time he sees European stewards serving at his table! The 'Pera' is a longer and finer ship than the 'Colombo,' which brought us to Suez. All its arrangements for the general cleanliness of the vessel and convenience of passengers cannot be too highly admired. The dishes that were served out to us every day, including curry and ভাত; which we could never expect to have come out so well from European hands, piles of meat, heaps of sweetmeats, puddings and tarts, fruits and roots of various descriptions, gallons of wine of all sorts of delicacy, all these and more which would not disgrace the table of a rich lord of England, were an everyday thing to us. I just enclose a bill-of-fare, which will give you a faint idea of the P. & O. Company's dinner service. Add to that 3 scores of passengers busily engaged with their knife and fork and drinking and talking to their fill; the hardworking, robust stewards passing and repassing the table with noiseless activity; mountains of solid meat including beef, mutton, pork and ham, geese, ducks, and then the sweetmeats of various kinds that would water the mouth of even the most orthodox Brahmin, and lastly oranges, apples, figs, grapes, raisins, nuts, almonds, and walnuts and other English fruits,—and you have the dinner that was given to us every day. Bathing, which was an everyday luxury to the Bengalee, was not an easy matter to us here. We had always to fight with other passengers for access to the bath. Sometimes when we went before a Saheb, and were waiting for a bath half an hour, the men would come and enter it as soon as it was empty, regardless of our claims. But if we were to be in the bath for 10 minutes, one would remark that we have no business to keep people waiting for an hour, another would say, "Don't fall asleep in your bath," and a third would tauntingly ask 'পূজা করতা'? Of course these men are Sahebs, and we are poor Bengalees. Our only amusement on board the ship was to observe the various games by which our fellow-passengers beguiled this tedious hour. Of course we were called sometimes to take part in them, and in some of the harder ones a Bengalee would much rather like to be a spectator than an actor. There was a game called 'Monkey in the sling." The monkey was tied to a long rope, not so as to obstruct the movements of the body. His feet touched the ground and he could also run a little this side or that side. Now, people began beating him from all sides, and he received such hard blows as to stun any of us. If by a lucky chance the monkey could hit on any of his tormentors, he was released. Sometimes the poor monkey, when not an expert one, would have to bear all the blows without being able to give one, long enough to harass him quite; while another would scarcely allow himself to be beaten, and come out triumphant in a minute. I wish Hemendra had come to join in these active exercises.

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* Title given to Keshub Ch. Sen by the Maharshi, whom they had both previously accompanied to Ceylon.

† Ganendranath, elder uncle of Gaganendra. All the other letters are addressed to him.

‡ His third brother.

I should like to give you some account of Malta and Gibraltar, where we stopped for a few hours during our voyage in the Mediterranean, but I am afraid the letter has become too heavy to bear any more. Malta was the first European ground where we set our foot. It may strike a raw Indian to see a city entirely filled by white-faced people. I have heard of an Anglo-Indian boy, who on landing at Malta could not suppress his feelings at the fact, and cried out "কালালোগ সব কাঁহা গিয়া"! The view of the town, fortifications and the harbour as it is approached, is very grand. The rocks and buildings around the little town of Valetta, are of a yellowish east. St. John's Church is one of the most remarkable buildings of the place. It is a very heavy edifice, most richly decorated in the interior, containing superb monuments of the Knights of Malta. Gibraltar is a strongly, I may say formidably, fortified place, which seems to defy the combined efforts of the whole world to take it. The rocks almost perpendicular on the north, south and east sides, are very steep and rugged, but on the west slope down to a fine bay, on which stands the city. The city is unlike those with which we are familiar. The streets are narrow and well-paved. The houses are very strongly built, and stick to each other in a way never to be separated. "কভু না ছাড়িব মনে আঁকড়িয়া রয়".। I will now tell you a love-adventure of Mon, on board the ship. From Malta several passengers joined us, and among those were Mr. and Mrs. Lamb and a maid-servant. Now, it so happened that this maid-servant took a fancy to Mon. Every morning she was punctual in making a good-morning to him, and a smile was on her lips at seeing him. But she came to have some strange misgivings in her mind. One day she asked Mon, and I was sitting by his side—"I believe you have left your wife behind? If I were your wife"—Of course we could not then hit at the hidden meaning of her assertion. But we were certainly surprised to learn how is it that she came to know of our marriage at all. We thought she must have learnt it from some source or other, or it might be a shrewd guess of hers. In the meantime her conversation with Mon became more frequent and familiar. She would sometimes admire his cap (saying what a pretty cap), sometimes she would come to present him flowers and so on, but alas! unfortunate creature! the thought of Mon being already wedded to a wife sank deep into her heart, and she had too much of conscience in her to make him guilty of bigamy, and so at last she revealed herself to Mon one day saying—"you are then a married man? I thought I had a chance." Now everything appeared clear, all mists were dispersed. She was in love. It is a pity that Mon gave himself out as a married man. It would be nice fun to see how far affairs might proceed, if the contrary were known to the love-sick lady.

From Gibraltar we entered the Bay of Biscay in three days. The Bay is generally very rough, but it was in one of its quiet moods when we saw it. There was indeed a heavy swell, which set our ship rolling, but it was nothing, as we were told, compared with its usual upheavings.

As we approached the land of our destination, we were agreeably surprised to find it green with vegetation. Oh, it presented a beautiful aspect! England put on her best apparel to welcome us, and now we are in the land of Albion! One chapter of our enterprise is finished. This is the land of our holy pilgrimage, our মহাতীর্থ।

We have visited the tomb of my grandfather, which as you will learn from the letter of Mon, is in a wretched state. We will gladly undertake to erect a new monument worthy of the man, if you make haste to supply us with the necessary means. The most treacherous thing that we have to encounter here is the weather. It is so uncertain and unsettled. The first question which an Englishman asks on meeting his friend is about the state of the weather. We hope, however, soon to get ourselves acclimatized. It is the month of May, and all Calcutta is in fires. This is the mango season and you are all enjoying it very much. Oh, when shall I taste the delicious fruit again! I am starving for want of letters, drown me with them.

(*To be Continued.*)

PASTORALE

I think that I'd like to be a shepherd,
And roam the hills with my little bands
Of trusting sheep; to lie 'neath some old tree
And pipe a vagrant tune on a reed flute,
And dream my errant wand'ring dreams
Amid the flowers and the birds;
Alone with Nature and the kindly beasts.
To feel the clean winds blowing from the south;
To smell the scent of grass and loam;
To let my whimsies weave, at will,
Untramelled in an open space;
Fenced only by the hills and sea and sky.
And when the twilight came with silver feet,
And the first star gleamed in the darkling void,
I'd take my staff and gather in my flock,
And home-ward go; I and my sheep content.

LILY S. ANDERSON

IS A RESIDENTIAL UNIVERSITY SUITABLE FOR PATNA ?[1]

We meet here to-day to protest against the scheme launched by Sir Md. Fakhiruddin and supported by Mr. Sultan Ahmad—the scheme of the Phulwari University. We have a great respect for our Education Minister and for our Vice-Chancellor who unites in himself the literary and scholarly traditions of the East and West. Our Vice-Chancellor is a man of insight, of resource, of far-reaching vision, and, therefore, whatever is born of that ripe wisdom is entitled to our consideration. But the modern age is an age of scepticism, of doubt, of criticism. It has no use for infallibility—as the Middle Ages had. It claims and I must say it is a claim which is not much relished by the authorities—it claims to be heard, to be taken into confidence, and horror of horrors, it claims a determining voice in matters affecting its own interests. Yet, however great the authority, benevolent the intention, and generous the instinct of the two educational experts, the people of this Province seem to resent the slight which—doubtless unwittingly—has been cast upon them, by refusing or rather neglecting, to call for their opinion or to seek their advice. In this democratic age such an omission, to our thinking, is ill-advised. The first objection, therefore, to this scheme is that it has no support from, much less the assent of, the people of the Province. But that in itself—though unwise and unsound—is no fatal objection to any scheme emanating from men such as the joint-parents of the Phulwari Scheme. The question is—and it is an all-important question—is it a sane scheme ? Is it a scheme calculated to further the interests of the people or to further the cause of education—so dear, I doubt not, to our revered Minister and scholarly Vice-Chancellor. 'Residential University'—we have heard those words *ad nauseam*. Perhaps these words have a glamour for our Vice-Chancellor, who is—if I am not mistaken—a distinguished ornament of one of the English Universities. If that be really so, it is hardly a matter of surprise that he should be eager to transplant to Patna the system in vogue in England. But, much as I admire the system at Oxford and Cambridge, I do not think it is quite suitable for Patna. Patna is not Oxford. The history and environment of the two places are as widely apart as the Poles. At Oxford you have one people bound by one tie, animated by one interest, governed practically by one religion. There the feeling of oneness is strengthened, emphasised, cemented on the play-ground, in Hall, in the lecture room. The residential system is a charming feature of university life at Oxford. But how different are things here! Instead of effecting union it will accentuate differences; instead of fostering a feeling of brotherhood, it will bring into prominence divergences and contrasts which it is our earnest endeavour to wipe out, to forget, to obliterate once for all. Hindus and Mohamedans even, under a residential system must live essentially apart, and it is hardly desirable that at their *Alma Mater* they should feel that the gulf between them is too wide to be bridged or the differences too deep to be adjusted or harmonised. A University is the last place where anything suggestive of racial division or provocative of religious differences, should be entertained. Therefore to me the residential system is objectionable even on broad and general principles. But there are other objections equally powerful which tell against it. It may be good enough for those who can afford to pay for a luxurious education; but what about those who have to contend against actual poverty or slender means? Are they to be shut out from the light of culture? Are they to go only some little distance on the path of education, and then sit resigned to fate and poverty, because they have not the golden key wherewith to unlock the door of the newly constituted university? What we want is cheap education, education within the reach of all. Its door should be open to all. It should have of no walls of division, marking off one class from another. It should diffuse its beneficent results with a far-scattering arm. It should reduce to a vanishing point disabilities due to poverty.

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[1] Presidential Address at the Educational Conference held at Patna 17th August, 1924.

The present scheme would merely be a duplication of work already done elsewhere and therefore a waste of money and effort. I may be permitted here to mention the story of *John Hopkins University*. John Hopkins died leaving the larger part of his fortune to found a College or University in Baltimore. Dr. Gilman was invited to discuss with the trustees his availability for the headship of the new institution. He proposed that this large endowment should be used, *not for the erection of expensive architecture*, but primarily for seeking out in all parts of the world the best professional brains in certain approved branches of learning. In the same spirit he suggested that a similarly selective process be adopted in the choice of students. The bringing together of these two sets of brains for graduate study, said he, would constitute the new University. And *John Hopkins University* became a real University in which unbiased truth was to be the only aim. "Gentlemen, you must light your own torch," was the admonition of President Gilman, in his welcoming address to his twenty fellows; intellectual independence, freedom from the trammels of tradition, were thus to be the directing ideas. (Hendrick's Life and Letters of Page, Vol. I, pp. 23, 24, 25.)

If the Behar Government has money to spare, let it utilise it for some such purpose as is suggested by President Gilman. But why these schemes? "It is strange irony," says Sir P. C. Ray, "that while no *money can be spared for* *primary education*, the most costly and ambitious schemes are being launched in the name of High or University education—a striking instance of which is afforded by the proposal to spend 50 lakhs of Rupees on the new University buildings at Phulwari."

Inscrutable are the ways of Government! Who can presume to fathom their wisdom? Whom will this wondrous University benefit? It will certainly be a monument to the genius of Sir Fakhruddin and Mr. Ahmad. But if a monument—let the monument be erected out of their own inexhaustible purses. Yes! to whom will it bring benefit? to a handful, perchance, of the middle and rich classes. It will confer no benefit upon Tirhut, Chota Nagpur, Orissa. Are they to be ruled out of consideration?

Could not this money, or even a part of it, be utilised for colleges and schools and scientific and technical institutions already in existence at Patna? Are they to be shelved?

Oxford and Cambridge are not maintained by Government but by private donations and endowments. The future of Indian education—as of all genuine education—depends not on Government or on Government bounties, but on private munificence. Listen to what Syed Ahmad Khan has said: "Our Government has done a great deal for our education but I assure you we *can secure neither national education nor national self-respect* unless and until we take our education into our own hands. It is wholly beyond the scope of Government to meet all our needs; to fulfil all our demands. In matters of national interest it is nothing short of folly; nay it is a positive shame, to throw ourselves entirely at the feet of Government." (Syed Ahmad Khan's address on Islamic Education in India, p. 137.) Golden words, worthy of being inscribed in golden letters.

And what does Sir Walter Raleigh say: "Freedom to think, to criticise, to doubt, are essential to a university. It cannot be free if it is the appanage of any external power."

We do not want a university to be a department of Goverment. Sir Asutosh—that great man whose death we had recently to mourn—fought a life-long battle for freedom of the mind. His university—the Calcutta University—was—as all universities should be—the home and hearth of original research and bold, fearless thinking.

We are already face to face with a crisis in Calcutta. What will its future be? Will the university continue its victorions, onward march to the goal of disinterested learning and fearless freedom, or will it lapse into a seminary of servitude? Let us hope for the best, but are our misgivings unfounded, our anxiety without ground? We tremble at what may be, we can only hope that we shall have wisdom to continue as before, and courage to resist encroachment and to defeat retrograde policy.

But we are concerned here with the Phulwari University. Imagine a university—cut off from the main currents of public life—divorced from political activities—shut in in an out-of-the-way place—dominated by a spirit of officialdom! Such a university you will have if the genius of the Minister—reinforced by the talents of the Vice-Chancellor—succeeds in persuading your council to accept his resolution.

We meet in no spirit of captious criticism. We meet to protest against a flagrant disregard of public opinion in the matter of the Phulwari University. We meet to condemn the scheme as wanton and fruitless and wasteful. We meet to give expression to our deliberate and determined opinion that the age of benevolent despotism has ended, and that of enlightened self-government has begun, and that the voice of the people can no longer be scorned or scoffed at, but should be listened to with respect, and even, if need be, obeyed.

S. Khuda Bukhsh

THE KAUTILIYA ARTHASASTRA

(*A Reply*)

The publication of Prof. Winternitz's lecture on the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra in the April number of the *Calcutta Review* has given us an opportunity of reviewing the arguments upon which he bases his conclusion that the Kauṭilīya is a composition of the 3rd century A.D., and that its author is not Kauṭilya, the minister of Chandragupta Maurya. I would commence with the arguments advanced by him at p. 16 and proceed with them one after another according to the convenience of tackling them.

The statements in the Arthaśāstra as to its authorship disbelieved.

There are several statements in the *Arthaśāstra* to the effect that the work was written by Kauṭilya. They have, according to Prof. Winternitz, no more value than those in the Mahābhārata and Manu-Smṛti attributing those works to Vyāsa and Manu. As he has assigned no ground for holding such an opinion, the remark is but the result of personal belief against which others may hold entirely different beliefs. As to the verse in which it is stated that the kingdom was wrested by Kauṭilya from the Nandas, he states that as the remark giving the whole credit to Kauṭilya could not but be unpleasant to Chandragupta or his successor, it must have been written by some one else. This statement involves necessarily the implication that either the whole work was written by an author other than the minister of Chandragupta, the verse being inserted in the work later on to give it weight and pass it off as the composition of the famous politician, or that the whole work including the verse was written by an author or authors other than Kauṭilya the minister. This is, I should mention, looking at but one aspect of the question, and basing an inference on that partial view. There is the other aspect, namely, the gratitude of Chandragupta towards his political *guru*, to whom he owed so much in the matter of acquisition of power and position. That Chandragupta was so ungrateful that he would resent the mere mention of a fact, which was so widely known, by one whom he must have revered much as his minister and as a person from whom he had derived so much help in his rise to the throne, remains yet to be proved. Prof. Jacobi 'sees in this verse the self-consciousness

Two grounds for disbelieving one of the statements: (*i*) Unpleasant to Chandragupta.

(ii) A Paṇḍit could not be a statesman.

of a great statesman, of the Indian Bismarck as he calls Kauṭilya,' but, according to Prof. Winternitz, the contents of the *Arthaśāstra* do not justify the inference that it is the composition of a statesman as, in his view, it is like the composition of a Paṇḍit. The reason assigned by him for this conclusion is that the *Arthaśāstra* shows exactly the same predilection for endless and pedantic classifications and definitions as in other scientific works composed by Paṇḍits. In support of this assertion, he cites some examples. Before reviewing the examples themselves, I should state that such combinations of the Paṇḍits' learning and the knowledge of at least the theoretic side of an art or profession were not uncommon in ancient India; for it was the Brāhmaṇas who were repositories of all branches of learning or art, and it was not impossible for individual Brāhmaṇas of special capacity to be masters of several fields of learning and art at a time, specially as these special fields were not so wide in ancient India as they are at present. Even in modern times, scholars with a deep and specialized knowledge of a particular science or art together with a general knowledge of a few other sciences or arts are not rare. For this reason, I do not understand why the existence of such combination should have been impossible in ancient India. I may also point out that because this was the actual state of things, it was not regarded as an anomaly by the Hindus that eminent paṇḍits should at the same time be prime ministers of kings as mentioned in the following verses [see Parāśara Saṃhitā (Bom. S. S.), p. 3] :—

Indrasyâṅgiraso Nalasya Sumatiḥ Śaibyasya Medhātithir
Dhaumyo Dharmasutasya Vaiṇyanṛpateh Svauja Nimer Gautamiḥ,
Pratyagdṛṣṭira-rundhatīsahacaro Rāmasya Puṇyâtmano
Yadvattasya bibhorabhūt kulagururmantrī tathā Mādhavah.

[Just as the religious guide Mādhava was the mantrin (of king Bukkana), so was Bṛhaspati to Indra, Sumati to Nala, Medhātithi to Śaibya, Dhaumya to Yudhiṣṭhira, Svaujas to Pṛthu, Vasiṣṭha to Rāma.]

Moreover, we find provision in the Sanskrit literature that the Brāhmaṇas should usually be the mantrins. It cannot be said that those who were selected for the high position used to be educated in a way different from the traditional one of keeping them in the house of their *gurus* up to a certain age-limit. The influences imbibed during this period developed in them a mode of thinking and a style of writing which may be distasteful to the politicians of the present day but may not have been so in ancient India. There is nothing to show that in ancient India the said mode of thinking and writing could not co-exist with the qualifications necessary for a politician, though in modern times, a politician may develop a more lucid style by virtue of the training he receives and the surroundings in which he moves.

Again, the attribution of the authorship of works on polity to Brāhmaṇa authors, such as Vaiśampāyana, or the existence of Brāhmaṇa names among those quoted by Kauṭilya as authors of such treatises, shows that it was not regarded as unusual or uncouth that the Brāhmaṇas, whose ordinary profession was *adhyayana* and *adhyāpana* of the sciences, should write on politics or warfare, on which the Kṣattriyas, whose means of livelihood were *śastra* and *bhūtarakṣaṇam*, should alone have written.

Errors in the examples cited to prove that Kauṭilya was a *Paṇḍit* and not a statesman.

Now I turn to the examples cited by Prof. Winternitz (pp. 16, 17) to show Kauṭilya's predilection for endless and pedantic classifications and definitions as found in the scientific works composed by paṇḍits. The long list of good qualities of each of the seven constituents of a state has been cited as the first instance of the class. But we should bear in mind that if the insertion of this list of excellences can be shown to be a *sine quâ non* in the treatment of the subject of *maṇḍala* in its entirety, the enumeration of the excellences cannot be said to be the outcome of a Paṇḍit's love of pedantry. The main object of the scheme of *maṇḍala* is to gauge the strength of a state in comparison with that of the other neighbouring states in particular circumstances. It is the seven constituents that compose a state, and the strength of a particular state can be measured by scrutinizing the qualities of each constituent with reference to the standards mentioned in the aforesaid list minus the deficiencies of each owing to the *vyasanas*, which may affect any of them; and hence, we find in the Arthaśāstra the delineation of the standard excellences of each constituent, and the treatment of the peculiar *vyasanas* of the different constituents with suggestions as to their remedies in the Eighth Book. The calculation of the relative strength of a particular state together with the calculation of strength of its allies as against similar measurement of strength of the inimical state and its allies enables a sovereign or a politician to adopt one or more of the six courses of action or their combinations dealt with in the Seventh Book. There is a thread of logical connection running throught he chapters of the Sixth

I. *Re* list of excellences of the seven constituents of a state.

and Seventh Books, and the list of the qualities is but a necessary link in the chain. Therefore, it is not proper to state that the aforesaid list of qualities is but an expression of the love of pedantry of the author.

II. Maṇḍala as a kind of geometry of the situations of the states—criticized.

The scheme of the maṇḍala (statal circle) of twelve states was in currency in those days. There were other rival schemes, but this was the most popular, because it was found by the politicians of those days as sufficient for the needs of reference to or delineation of the situations arising among the states in their mutual intercourse, the components of the statal circle with their defined correlation and set nomenclature furnishing the basal concepts and terminology for the performance of the task with ease and precision.[1] The twelve states composing a maṇḍala are but types of those situated in the several zones surrounding the aspiring or central state, and hence the adaptation of the scheme of the maṇḍala to particular situations is easily made. It is not also necessary that all the twelve types of states should be involved in every political situation. Only those that correspond to the states actually involved in particular political circumstances, may be taken into account. The scheme is meant to be of general application, and it does not matter whether the set of neighbouring states be situated in India, Europe, or elsewhere, and whether they be twelve or less, big or small, just as a geometrical proposition regarding a triangle or a circle is applicable to it, irrespective of its dimension or existence in India or Europe.[2] In view of this, Prof. Winternitz's remarks that "what has been called the inter-state relations is a kind of geometry of the situation of the state," does not detract from the value of Kauṭilya's treatment of the maṇḍala, unless 'geometry' be taken as a synonym of pedantry.

(iii) 'The immediate neighbour always the enemy, and the neighbour of the enemy always the ally'—criticized.

Prof. Winternitz says that in the statal circle, the immediate neighbour is always the enemy, and the neighbour of the enemy always the ally. He has ignored that Kauṭilya regards adjacent states as 'natural enemies' because adjacency was, as it is now, a fruitful source of jealousy and enmity, and as the same reason applies to the relation of this state to its neighbour in the next zone, the third state is naturally friendly to the first. This principle of special adjacency has been taken as the determiner of friendliness or enmity towards the central state and towards one another. Nowhere has Kauṭilya dogmatized that this relation of natural friendliness or enmity cannot be altered. He has left that inference to be drawn by the reader from the context and by a study of the other portions of the treatise. In Book 7, Ch. 14 (*Hīnaśaktipūraṇam*), Kauṭilya suggests the methods by which a weak vijigīṣu makes offer of money, etc., to his enemy's allies who are making a combined attack upon the vijigīṣu. Kauṭilya advises the weak sovereign to make use of *sāma, dāna, bheda, daṇḍa,* whenever needed, to make a breach in the hostile combination. This shows that the enemy's friends can become vijigīṣu's friends at any time. Similarly, the enemy might have recruited his allies not merely by calling the sovereigns from the friendly zones but also by turning into friends those sovereigns who are in the inimical zones by use of *sāma, dāna, bheda, daṇḍa* according to the exigency of the moment.

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[1] *Vide* my *Inter-state Relations in Ancient India*, pp. 1-13.

[2] V. Smith has fallen into the same error at p. 138 of his *Early India*, and has taken the scheme as an evidence of the state of things as existing before the consolidated empire of the Mauryas came into being.

(*iv*) Is vijigīṣu always a model of virtue, strength, and statesmanship?

Prof. Winternitz remarks (p. 17) not without a bit of fling at Kauṭilya that vijigīṣu must 'always be a model of virtue, possessed of the best prakṛtis and the embodiment of statesmanship. Nothing can be further from Kauṭilya's purposes than a statement of this sort. The passage at p. 260 of the *Arthaśāstra* (*viz.*, *rājā ātmadravyaprakṛtisampanno nayasyādhisṭhānam vijigīṣu*) states that the sovereign with his own resource-elements forming the basis of the (inter-state) policy is vijigīṣu. It cannot be denied that the sovereign of any state forming the centre of political deliberations for the time being can be called vijigīṣu, and every sovereign who requires his inter-state policy to be settled by deliberations has, for the sake of convenience, to look upon himself as the centre of his maṇḍala, *i. e.*, as vijigīṣu. Hence, if Prof. Winternitz's remark be true, we are forced to commit ourselves to the absurd assumption that every sovereign in a country was a model of virtue, strength, and statesmanship. Moreover, it is found from Book VII, Ch. 14, that the weak vijigīṣu is being attacked by a number of allied sovereigns. How can a vijigīṣu be conceived to be weak, if he be always a model of strength? Again, two whole *adhikaraṇas, viz., Vyasanādhikaraṇam* (Book VIII) and *Ābalīyasam* (Book XII) treating, as they do, of weak and distressed sovereigns, cannot have any concern with the vijigīṣu, if Prof. Winternitz's contention be true, and because, as already stated, every sovereign can be a vijigīṣu within his own *maṇḍala,* the two *adhikaraṇas* are meant for none. The fact, however, is that a vijigīṣu is a sovereign like any other sovereign in his maṇḍala, and is as much subject to the ups and downs of regal life as the rest.

Are discussions on the *vyasanas* mere quibbling?

Prof. Winternitz sees nothing but quibbling (p. 17) in the discussions in the 8th Book of the *Arthaśāstra* regarding the relative gravity of the several *vyasanas* affecting the seven constituents of the state. This portion of the work devoted to the *vyasanas* has been written for two objects, *viz.*, to suggest the remedies for the several *vyasanas*, and to enable a sovereign or a politician to measure as approximately as possible the relative strength of those states in the maṇḍala that are involved in a particular inter-state affair. To fulfil the second object, it is necessary to ascertain which of the two states, or two groups of states with conflicting interests, has greater strength. Of the several courses of action named in the 7th Book, one or more are adopted in the light of the relative strength possessed by one side as against another. To strike this balance between the strength of a particular state or a group of states and that of another state or group of states, it is necessary to have the detailed treatment of the *vyasanas*, which Prof. Winternitz condemns as mere quibbling. I take a concrete example to make my point clear. Suppose there are two hostile states A and B. A as also B is composed of seven constituents, *viz.*, king, ministers, territory with the subjects, fort, treasure, army, and allies. Now, each of these constituents has its own peculiar defects or distresses, the existence of which takes away from its full value possessed by it in its normal state. Now in order to ascertain the strength of A as against B, it has to be determined how many of the constituents of A are superior to those of B and *vice versâ*. Suppose that A has its king addicted to gambling, and B has its king addicted to drinking. According to the author of the *Arthaśāstra*, the former king is weaker than the latter (*Arthaśāstra*, p. 330). Again if A has *amātya* affected with *vyasana*, and B has *janapada* affected with *vyasana*, the other constituents remaining normal, the affected constituents being different present a difficulty in ascertaining which *vyasana* is graver. According to the author of the Arthaśāstra, the distress of the *amātya* is graver; hence, the state A is weaker than B. If both A and B have their allies, the strength of the allies on each side will have to be subjected to a similar examination in order to reach a conclusion as to which side is stronger. This furnishes the reason why Kauṭilya is at so much pains in comparing the relative weakness of the constituents of the same or different denominations, and gives his own view supported by arguments as to which of the affected constituents under comparison should be regarded as inferior to the other.

This process of calculation of the relative strength of a state requires the aforesaid treatment of the *vyasanas*, and hence it is but missing the real purpose of the method to say that such treatment is nothing but quibbling.

It may be that the presentation of the subject-matter might have been more lucid, but allowance must be made for the distance of time that makes the style of writing far removed from what we may expect. It cannot however be said that the manner of treatment of the *vyasanas* shows that the author was a paṇḍit and not a statesman; for even a statesman of the age in which the work was written could not have been altogether exempt from the influences of his literary surroundings, and could not have avoided, in his treatment of the *vyasanas,* the detailed comparisons between the constituents, essential, as they were, to the process of calculation of the relative strength of the states of the maṇḍala before any 'course of action' could be adopted. After what I have just now said as to the style of writing, I do not think I need say anything regarding Prof. Winternitz's complaint against the lengthy discussions on the choice of ministers in the *Arthaśāstra.* The combination of the learning of a paṇḍit and the practical ability of a politician is not an impossibility, and the portrayal of Cāṇakya accompanied by his disciple in the *Mudrārākṣasa* (Act I) shows that in regard to him, the idea of his being a paṇḍit did not jar against that of his being a statesman, because very probably, it reflected the tradition of the actuality.

How far Kauṭilya supports the application of unscrupulous methods in politics.

If Prof. Winternitz's view of the present-day politics be as he has put down, *viz.,* 'the conqueror or the victorious party in war is always the righteous, and just as Kauṭilya occasionally pays his respects to morality, you will find in all proclamations of the great political leaders of our days that the most abominable things are always done in the name of justice, humanity and civilization' (p. 27), then it certainly abates the poignancy of his condemnation of Kauṭilya. About the minister, he writes that 'there is a strange discrepancy between his strict Brāhmanical religiosity, and the unscrupulousness with which he recommends all kinds of cunning tricks, in which religious rites and religiosity of the people are abused for political purposes.' There is however a boundary line, beyond which this remark may be applicable, but within which, it does not apply. In justice to Kauṭilya, this limiting line should not be ignored. In internal politics, the unscrupulous means are recommended against only those persons or subjects who are found to be seditious or inimical to the sovereign, and in inter-state politics, they are recommended against the unjust and the hostile, and not against the friendly states. Inspite of these limitations, there existed a wide field for the operation of the moral and the humane principles both in internal and external politics. In this connection, I should point out that Prof. Winternitz's remark (p. 9) that 'in the second chapter of the fifth *adhikaraṇa*, the king is taught how to fill his empty treasury by all kinds of fair and foul means,' of which he cites examples, has done injustice to Kauṭilya; for he expressly mentions towards the end of the chapter that the means should be used against the seditious and the wicked and never against others (*evaṁ dūṣyesvādhārmikeṣu ca varteta, netaresu*) which Prof. Winternitz ignores. Space does not allow me to deal at length with the humane principles with which the sovereign is advised by Kauṭilya to treat his subjects. I wish to quote only one passage by way of example :

Prajāsukhe sukhaṁ rājñaḥ
Prajānām ca hite hitam,
Nātmapriyam hitam rājñaḥ,
Prajānām tu priyam hitam. (I, 16).

In inter-state relations, the evidences of the *Arthaśāstra* show that a king's deviations from the practices sanctioned by tradition incurred the displeasure of the sovereigns within the maṇḍala and of his own subjects. The references to the displeasure of these sovereigns would have been to no purpose, if it had not been a cause for apprehension to the recalcitrant monarch. Humane treatment, for instance, of the *daṇḍopanata* (self-submitter) was required by the opinion of not merely the sovereigns of the time but also of the people. A warning in the *Kauṭilīya* cautions the *daṇḍopanāyin* (dominator) against transgression of his obligations to the submitter, breach of which agitated the whole statal circle to actions for the destruction of the dominator, and provoked even his own ministers to attempt his life or deprive him of his kingdom (*Arthaśāstra*, VIII, 16). Again, Kauṭilya, while giving advice to the allies of a king engaged in a fight with another king with his allies, points out that one, who attacks the rear of a sovereign has an advantage over one who attacks the rear of a sovereign fighting with an unrighteous king, because fight with a righteous king incurs the displeasure of his own people (*Arthaśāstra,* VIII, 13). It was apprehension of this sort that acted as a check upon the conduct of the monarchs of those days in inter-state affairs.

Prof. Winternitz is wrong in holding, on the strength of the passage '*abhyuccīyamāno vigṛhṇīyāt*' (*Arthaśāstra,* VII, 1) that "he who is stronger shall wage war." Kauṭilya is explaining, in the first portion of the chapter, the various courses of action, and signifies by the passage that superiority of strength should be a pre-condition of embarking on *vigraha.* It does not mean that whenever a sovereign has accumulated sufficient strength, he must attack a weak sovereign. That this supposition is baseless is further proved by Kauṭilya's statement that the relative gains from *sandhi* and *vigraha* being equal, *sandhi* should be made; because *vigraha* leads to loss of men, money, sojourn, and sin (*Arthaśāstra,* VII, 2). Moreover, a war could not take place without one or more causes for declaring it. The reasons for this inference are :—

(1) There are references in the *Arthaśāstra* to weak states being protected instead of being attacked by powerful kings (*e.g., Artha.,* VIII, 1). The existence also of the course of action called *Samśraya, i.e.,* taking the help of a powerful king supports this contention.

(2) It is expressly laid down by Kauṭilya that writs (implying negotiation) are the root of *sandhi* and *vigraha* between states (*Arthaśāstra,* II, 10). Kauṭilya informs us that he wrote the chapter (II, 10) on royal writs not merely in accordance with all the *śāstras* on polity but also the prevailing practices (*prayoga*) of the day.

I do not appreciate Prof. Winternitz's rendering of *āsana* by the word 'neutrality' (p. 10) and that of *Samśraya* by the word '*alliance.*' The nature of the course of action *āsana* will be clear from Bk. VII, Chs. I and IV of the *Arthaśāstra,* and this is also corroborated by the Kāmandakīya which says that *āsana* is a form of *vigraha* (*vide* XI, 35—yānāsane vigrahasya rūpam). The courses of action called sandhāyāsana (taking to *āsana* in regard to the enemy after making alliance with a state) and vigṛhyāsana (taking to *āsana* after declaration of war) adopted during the continuance of hostilities would not have been possible if *āsana* had meant neutrality. *Samśraya* is adopted by a weak sovereign for protection against the attack of a powerful enemy, and consists in resigning himself to the protection of another powerful sovereign ready to help him. This is not an alliance, for had it been so, it would have come under *sandhi*, which in the Kauṭilīya comprehends both the treaties of peace and the various kinds of alliance.

Is Kauṭilya (crookedness) too bad a name for a minister?

Prof. Winternitz has grave doubt whether the minister of an emperor could have the name 'Kauṭilya' meaning 'crookedness.' We should, however, consider that the minister had no alternative in the matter. It is a gotra name, *i.e.*, the name of one of his ancestors, and over it the minister, or his parents and guardians had no control. On this point, Saṅkarācharya's commentary on the *Kāmandakīya* (I, 6) runs thus: "Viṣṇugupta was the name given him at the naming ceremony, while Cāṇakya and Kauṭilya were derived from the birth-place and the gotra respectively." Thus the name Viṣṇugupta which was conferred on the minister at the naming ceremony by his parents or guardians is not at all repulsive. Hence, the minister is not to blame for the name. But even if 'Kauṭilya' had been his personal name, I do not think he would have been the worse for it; because the very fact that such a name could at all be chosen by the parents or guardians for a child is sufficient proof that it was not repugnant to the ears of the people of the time. In early Sanskrit literature we sometimes meet with such names. To mention only a few; Śunaḥśepa (dog-tailed) in the *Aitr. Br.*, Piśuna (slanderous), Kauṇapadanta (having teeth like a goblin) in the Arthaśāstra. Do we not in England see men with names like 'Savage' and 'Lamb' rising to positions of fame and power, and would it be a bar to their becoming premiers of England if their capabilities raise them to that high office?

Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇapati Śāstri in the Introduction to his edition of the *Arthaśāstra* (1924) points out that the correct form of 'Kauṭilya' is 'Kauṭalya,' *i.e.*, 'born in Kuṭala gotra,' and that neither the term 'Kauṭilya' nor its root 'Kuṭila' is explained in the Nighaṇṭu as Gotrarṣi. On the other hand, Kuṭala is mentioned by Keśavasvāmin in his *Nānārthārṇavasaṃkṣepa* as meaning both Gotrarṣi and an ornament. The right form of the name, *i.e.*, 'Kauṭalya' is found in all the manuscripts of the text of the Arthaśāstra and its commentaries used by the editor and described by him in the Introduction.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

(*To be Continued.*)

RĀSTAKHIZ

OR

THE RESURRECTION OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF IRĀN AMONG THE RUINS OF MADĀYĪN.

(*Translated from Persian*)

[*Introductory note by the Translator:*

On the occasion of the last Naurūz festival (21st March of this year) the Parsi community, both in Bombay and in Calcutta, got introduced to this fine operetta. In Bombay it was Mr. D. J. Irani, solicitor, himself of Persian parentage, who first drew the attention of his co-religionists to this work. Indeed, he has been contemplating the issue of this work in the original Persian with an English translation. He had already had in print a few copies for private circulation among his friends.[1] I also contrived to get hold of a copy and through it tried to put the Zoroastrian community of Calcutta into touch with the feelings and the aspirations of modern Irān. Mr. Irani's excellent English version only lacks metre and rhythm, which want I have, with his kind permission, supplied in this translation.

A word more may be added regarding the poet Saiyyad Mīrzādeh Ishqī, an apostle of young Irān, whose aspirations he voices here. Just as I was translating the very last lines I read the news of the poet's murder on the 30th of July. He has finished his dream and is gone back in prime of life to the Eternal Realities. As sure as day follows night, so sure shall the Resurrection of Irān (and of all East) come. The dawn is already visible and sunrise is not very far distant. Irān has felt its invigorating breath, and is waking up in response. One of the great signs of this new life has been the re-awakening of interest all over Irān in her ancient glory, in her ancient Kings, in her ancient Religion and in her great Prophet, Zarathushtra. The Irānī to-day has begun to understand that all her national greatness must be rooted in her past, and so there has come over her people a spirit of toleration and of brotherhood for men of all religions. No doubt the work of the Babis has smoothed the way to this. Irān to-day is calling the Parsis of India back to the land of their fathers, at the very least she wants their co-operation and good will in the coming struggle to reach the haven of Peace. For just like this land she too is awakening into new life and is feeling fresh blood tingling in her veins. Her struggle is our struggle, her victory is our victory. Irān, twin-sister of Hind, proud of her Aryan heritage, has, through long ages of suffering and darkness, come to a true realisation of her past. Now she wants to build up afresh, in a new synthesis, her national life. The sympathies of India and especially of the Parsis, are with her.]

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[1] Since this was written the book has been published in Bombay.

Prefatory note by the Author :

During his travels, in the year of Hejira 1334, from Baghdad to Mosul the Author of this little dramatic poem was impressed in more than ordinary measure by the ruins of the ancient city of Madāyin.[1] Eventually several years after this journey these impressions bore fruit and this little effort was a result.

Dramatis Personæ.

Ishqi, the Traveller.	Noshirawan.
Khusrav-Dokht.	Khusrav.
Cyrus.	Shirin.
Darius.	Shade of Zaratusht.

(*The curtain rises and discloses the magnificent ruins of the Great Hall of one of the Royal Palaces of the Sassanian Emperors at Madāyin. Several Royal tombs in a ruined state and with half-broken pillars meet the sight of a Traveller. He is just arrived and he is gazing around him and sighing.*)

The Traveller (*sings to the air of the Masnavi of Afshār*)—

These wondrous portals, glorious palaces!
These countless columns, e'en in ruin great!
What do these signify, Almighty Lord?
If from this place I ever safe return,
I swear I never would go forth again
In search of glories past. This trackless waste,
These dark deserted ruins, stretching forth
To Heav'n their gaunt bare shafts; this solitude,
Terrible and complete, makes me feel faint.

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[1] The ancient city of Ctesiphon.

Yet none the less when on this Royal Court
Mine eyes have feasted, all my toil forgot,
I feel inspired,—glorious recompense
For all my troubles on this pilgrimage.
From here the great Sassanian race did spring,
This was the land in which was sown the seed
Of Irān's mighty race. Those were the days,
When she was great and active, wise and free.
But fallen now in sloth and slavery
And ignorance, her greatness is all past.
Madāyīn, great Twin-city,[1] every stone,
Amid thy ruined palaces should cause
All true Iranian hearts to bleed for shame,
With eyes downcast to hear thy long-neglected name.

(*He places his hand on his forehead. After a time he sings this ghazal in the Caucasian air, his heart heavy with grief and anguish*)

Hold back thy hānds; stricken with this sight,
My blood to water turns, and drop by drop
My heart flows out in anguish through my eyes.
Gave I my grief a tongue, as here I see
The royal tombs of Achæmenes' race,
Out of these empty urns would gush forth blood.
The name and fame and honour of Irān
Are to our leaders now of little worth.
No Farhād shows us freedom's path, none leads:—
Each selfish leader thinks but of himself,
And works his own undoing. Branded clear
Upon our foreheads fear, dishonour, shame

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[1] The name *Madāīyin* is the dual *Medina*, city. The city was situated on both banks of the river Tigris. It was originally the city of Seleukia founded by Seleukos, the founder of the famous dynasty after the death of Alexander the Great. Later the city of Ctesiphon was founded by the Parthians on the opposite bank of the river.

The world may see. On tombs of heroes great
People of other climes show'r roses sweet,
But wanting hearts and sense, we, Persians, throw,
Dust from the Takht-i-Jamshīd at the head
Of Jam himself. Great Rulers of Irān
Are 'mong these ruins gathered to lament
Her greatness past. Sadness profound comes down,
Like a dark veil upon Madāyīn's face :—
Ishqī was privileged to lift the veil,
To scan the past, unfolding Irān's doleful tale.

(*Sleep overcomes the brooding Traveller. Resting his arms on his knees and his head upon his hands he falls into a waking dream, and speaks aloud.*)

Now there unfolds before my wond'ring eyes
The story of my country's glorious past.
What is this that I see?—A woman clad
In white—her cerements—raised up from dead ;
Forth from her grave she comes. She gazes round
Upon this city desolate : a cry,
A wail that rends the heart, escapes her breast,
Sudden—I know not how—it bursts out unrepressed.

(*Just then, from a tomb near the Traveller, a woman, clad in grave-clothes, steps out. It appears that she is a Princess, from her costly robes. She is, indeed, the daughter of Khusrav. She looks around and heaves a deep sigh.*)

Khusrav-Dokht—

This mouldering graveyard,—can this be Irān ?
This desert's not Irān : O where is my Irān ?

Ye men, ye living corpses of Irān !
I am your Kasra's[1] daughter ; royal blood
Coursed through my veins : I've seen the glories past.

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[1] Latin *Cæsar*, Emperor.

The daughter beloved
Of the King was I;
Loved of Shirin,
The light of her eye.
Now from my grave, thou poor afflicted Race!
Thy griefs have dragged me forth. But what is this?—
This mouldering graveyard—can this be Irān?
This desert's not Irān: O where is my Irān?

That time the glorious beauty of our Land
Put Heav'n to shame. Then, People of Irān,
This Land was not the waste I see, nor slaves
Her sons:—God witness 'tis the truth I speak.
Gone are all our Heroes,
At rest their sword and lance;
O Royal Sire, Khusrav,
On Irān cast thy glance.
This mouldering graveyard,—can this be Irān?
This desert's not Irān: O where is my Irān?

Father, great Khusrav, Lover of Shirin!
Rise from thy resting place, regard the plight
Of thine belov'd Irān. Sad is her fate:
Here only graves and ruins from the past
Are seen; her sons as good as underground.
They live? Nay only breathe,
They're dead—come out of graves,—
They live, and have no life,—
For what's the life of slaves?
This mouldering graveyard,—can this be Irān?
This desert's not Irān: O where is my Irān?

The great Kayānis, glorious Kings of Kings,
The valiant Sons of Sassan, Irān's pride,
My forbears these; *they* made our Irān great.

But now ?—they bend their heads in grief and shame
To see their free Irān a land of slaves.
They all are broken-hearted,
Cyrus is full of woe,
Darius and Noshir'wan
With shame and grief bend low.
This mouldering graveyard,—can this be Irān ?
This desert's not Irān ? O where is my Irān ?

Shirin with one hand wipes away the tears,
That from her sad eyes brim ; her other hand
She lifts in scorn her stinging curse to hurl :
"Unworthy sons of mighty sires,
Ye have forgotten e'en their name ;
No answering thrill within you wakens,
At mention of their deeds of fame ;
Yet let the sight of us, your mothers,
Bring forth at least a blush of shame.
This mouldering graveyard,—can this be Irān ?
This desert's not Iran : O where is my Irān ?

(*Cyrus appears clad in wonderful robes. His face is utterly sorrowful. He has his fist clenched against his brow.*)

Cyrus—

Alas ! my head bends low with grief and shame :
I see the shades of Kings before me stand,
Those very Kings, who once in fetters marched,
Captives behind my car of victory.
Alas ! they tear my vitals with their taunts ;
"King ! once Irān triumph'd o'er us,
We were led by thee in chains ;
Others now have claimed her captive,
Of her glory naught remains ! "
This mouldering graveyard,—can this be Irān ?
This desert's not Irān : O where is my Irān ?

(Darius appears, an imperial figure, unutterably sad.)

Darius—

From China to Byzantium I held sway,
And half the peopled globe did I bequeath
To my successors: they completely lost
All their great heritage and are enslaved.
All in ruins, all a desert
Lies Irān, her glory spent:
Of my far-flung World-Empire
Is hardly seen *one* monument
This mouldering graveyard,—can this be Irān ?
This desert's not Irān : O where is my Irān ?

(Solemn and grave and with a grief-stricken face Noshirawan steps out from behind a wall. His voice is full of grief.)

Noshirawan—

This land once bred most valiant men and true,
This land was famed for Chivalry and Truth.
Alas ! a howling wilderness I see,
Where mighty Kings in days of yore held court.
The glorious Flag of Old Irān,
From China up to Roman seas,
Through valour of her mightysons,
Stood proudly waving in the breeze.
This mouldering graveyard,—can this be Irān ?
This desert's not Irān : O where is my Irān ?

(Khusrav in imperial robes and jewels steps out from behind the wall as Noshirawan had done. In thrilling tones he sings this 'ghazal.')

Khusrav—

I scarcely know ye, living from the dead ;
I scarcely know ye, master from the slave ;

Call ye your being "life"?—'Twere better far
Death and his silence than your frozen hearts.
Why are ye thus alive? Your mighty Sires
Lament your fallen state,—exciting smiles
And patronage from upstart states and kings.
Great was Irān in might, great in her Truth:
O what has come to pass, that now she takes
Place lower than her sisters, younger all?
Blame ye yourselves; ye bound her hand and foot
With your self-seeking fetters; ye forgot
That Truth and Love of Land were life and blood
To your great Fathers and to *their* Irān.
By ye neglected near to death she bled,
No son to stanch her wounds, her greatness all but dead.

(*Dressed in a mourning robe of black, but wearing all her queenly jewels, Shirin, with an unutterably sad expression upon her face, appears by the side of Khusrav.*)

Shirin—

O sacred land by Holy Prophets trod
Irān, thou bridal-chamber of Shirin!
Where is thy throne, thy crown, thy jewels rare,
That once adorned the palace of my spouse?
Irān!......O my Irān! ......Thy Truth and Honour fled,
The dust of all the world I pour upon my head.

Are all thy great and valiant heroes stilled?
Is there now none whose hand may wield the sword?
Where have thy many million soldiers gone?
Irān, that cradled me! Irān, my pride!
Irān! ......O my Irān!......Thy Truth and Honour fled,
The dust of all the world I pour upon my head.

Where are thy Khusravs gone, World-conquerors?
Where are thy Wazirs, wise Buzarjemihrs?

Kings captive thy triumphal pageants graced ;
Irān my bridal-bower, my bed of rest !
Irān !......O my Irān !......Thy Truth and Honour fled,
The dust of all the world I pour upon my head:

Behold Madāyīn, home of Sassan Lords,
Behold the halls of great Noshirawān,
Irān in darkness mourns her greatness past,
Her robes as sombre as the robes I wear.
Irān !......O my Irān !......Thy Truth and Honour fled,
The dust of all the world I pour upon my head.

Thy warrior Lords, whose arms invincible
Had made thee first of nations, gather here,
Their heads like mine with lowly dust are crowned,
They ask, " Where is Irān that ruled the world ? "
Irān !......O my Irān !......Thy Truth and Honour fled,
The dust of all the world I pour upon my head.

Men of Irān, that dwell in ruined graves,
Revive your memory of ancient days,
When all the world submitted at her feet :—
Look at that picture first,—then look around,
Look at yourselves...Ah ! Woe is me ! Khusrav !
My royal spouse ! This breaks my heart to see !
Irān !......O my Irān !......Thy Truth and Honour fled,
The dust of all the world I pour upon my head.

Shirin am I, I am the Royal bride,
I am of Irān's mighty Lord the mate,
I am the mother of his glorious sons,
Where is my Heav'n ? Where are those treasures mine ?
Irān !......O my Irān !......Thy Truth and Honour fled,
The dust of all the world I throw upon my head.

Irān ! the resting place of Sassan's line !
Irān ! the shrine of Just Noshirawān !

Irān ! within whose bosom sleep our great
And glorious Dead, as also Mothers, Queens !
Irān !......O my Irān......Thy Truth and Honour fled,
The dust of all the world I pour upon my head.

(*Pointing to the people*)

With what face do ye dare to be alive?
Are ye not shamed to look upon your Queen ?
When enemies of Irān ye allowed,
To tread upon the dust of holy bones,
Of poets, prophets, warriors, queens and kings !
Irān!......O my Irān!......Thy Truth and Honour fled,
The dust of all the world I pour upon my head.
I am the bride of this Imperial Land,
I am the bride of that great Son of Kings,
I am the love and pride of Kings of Kings.
Lift we, ye Lords Imperial gathered here,
Our voices, hands and hearts in humble prayer
To that great ancient Guardian of Irān,
Our Holy Zarathushtra Spitama.
Pray we to Him to turn to us His face,
And in His mercy save our lov'd Irān,—
To Zarathushtra, Messenger of God,
To Zarathushtra, our Light and Guide.
Irān!......O my Irān !......Thy Truth and Honour fled,
The dust of all the world I pour upon my head.

(*When Shirin finishes her lament, the Royal personages one by one arise and stand in an attitude of prayer and supplication as used by the ancient Iranians. With great humility they invoke Zoroaster.*)

INVOCATION TO THE SOUL OF HOLY ZARATUSHT.

Zarathushtra, Irān lies in ruins,
In terrifying eddies is she whirled,

Sorrow is our share on land and water,
Hearken to us, Saviour of the World!

Irān formed the centre of Earth's glory:
We nourished her with our blood; the shields
That guarded safe her honour were our breasts.
No desert spot within her fertile fields
Could keenest eye detect. But desolate,
A barren wilderness she long has been:
Alas! we scarcely recognise to-day
The glorious Paradise our eyes had seen.

Holy Zarathushtra! Irān's Saviour!
Our ancient Beacon Light, our Friend, our Guide!
Irān is Thine own child, Thy special care;
She may forget, but Thou art at her side.
Thine, in the ancient days, rang out the Message
Of Purity and Service of Mankind:
We, Thy devoted servants, strove to follow,
And striving left a glorious land behind.

Our hands we lift in prayer, Zarathushtra!
Thy saving grace for Irān we entreat;
Thee we invoke, Prophet of th' Almighty!
Our heads in homage bent upon Thy feet.
Lead Irān back to what she has forgot,
Show her the Paths of Service and of Right,
That she may once again attain her place,
As Leader of the World to Realms of Light.

Zarathushtra! Irān lies in ruins,
In terrifying eddies is she whirled,
Sorrow is our share on land and water,
Hearken to us, Saviour of the World!

(*When the invocation to Holy Zoroaster is ended, the wall and porch (whereon a* Farohar *is depicted) disappear and the Soul of Holy Zoroaster, glorious like a Prophet, resplendent like an angel, clad in white, and wearing long silver-grey locks and beard appears. Moving slowly the Holy Spirit speaks.*)

THE SOUL OF HOLY ZOROASTER—

I am the Soul of Zar'tusht ye invoked,
I lead the Heav'nly hosts of Holy Men,
I gave my Message, ordered by the Lord :—
Good thoughts, good words, good deeds and Purity.
This did Irān forget, hence all her ills.

(*Pointing at the Royal Personages*)—

Ye valiant Lords, taking your well-earned rest,
Your bodies now are dust, yet live your names,
Shining like beacons, guiding young Irān :
Your hearts are bleeding ; ye have fit excuse,—
For these your sons their sires have forsworn,
And have surrendered all, nor ever once
Asserted Irān's right to liberty.

(*Pointing to the people*)—

Ye, Nations of the holy, hoary East!
Hind and Irān, and Turkoman and Chin!
When Light of Culture blazed upon the East,
In noonday splendour (let not West forget)
That time in West dwelt woodland savages,
Children of Nature, living as she bid.
Then set the Sun of Culture in the East,
And rose in West,—and East fell fast asleep,
That circle nears completion now ; new dawn
Reddens again the sky in Eastern lands.
O East, arise, and teach anew to West,

What mean Humanity and Righteousness.
Let's hope and pray, when East is wide awake,
And strong again, her new-found strength she'll use
To bring our sore-tried Earth the gift of Peace,
Of Goodwill and of Brotherhood of Man.
Henceforth no people should in bondage be;
All Nations are from God:—His Workers must be free!

(A beautifully bedecked cradle, with the National Flag of Irān flying from it, blazing with lights of various hues, slowly descends in front of the Prophet. He pointing at it solemnly concludes his prophetic speech.)

In this ancient soil lie hidden
seeds, from which a future race
Springing shall replace the living
corpses that Irān disgrace:
These shall help Irān to raise
her head to heights ne'er reached before,
Then upon this land of Cyrus
Fate shall put her curse no more.
No disgrace shall then disfigure
Irān's ancient honoured name,
She shall once again be mighty,
and the Reign of Right proclaim.
I shall overcome Ahriman;
on Irān his sway shall cease,
On her head rest God's own Blessings,
that shall lead her to the Peace.

(The Soul of Zoroaster disappears and the wall and the porch appear again as before. The Royal personages also, their faces full of amazement, disappear one by one among the ruins, and fade away from sight. The traveller wakes up slowly from his dream. He looks around in a dazed fashion and then sings these verses.)

The Traveller—

What glorious vision in this desert place,
Mine eyes have seen, O Lord! Was it a dream?
Or was it real?—I have seen the Lords
Imperial, that the destinies did sway
Of Irān and of half the human race,
I've seen them hold their heads bowed down in grief,
As gazing on this ruined spot, they thought
Of their unworthy sons, of Irān's fall;—
Bless us, grant us thy aid, O Lord! on Thee we call.

Lord of the Nations of Earth! Grant us Thy-blessings and aid!
Grant that the hopes of our Prophet we help to fulfil!
Glorious the vision He saw, true is the promise He made;
Ishqī has dreamed but a dream;—let the Lord
interpret as He Will.

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA

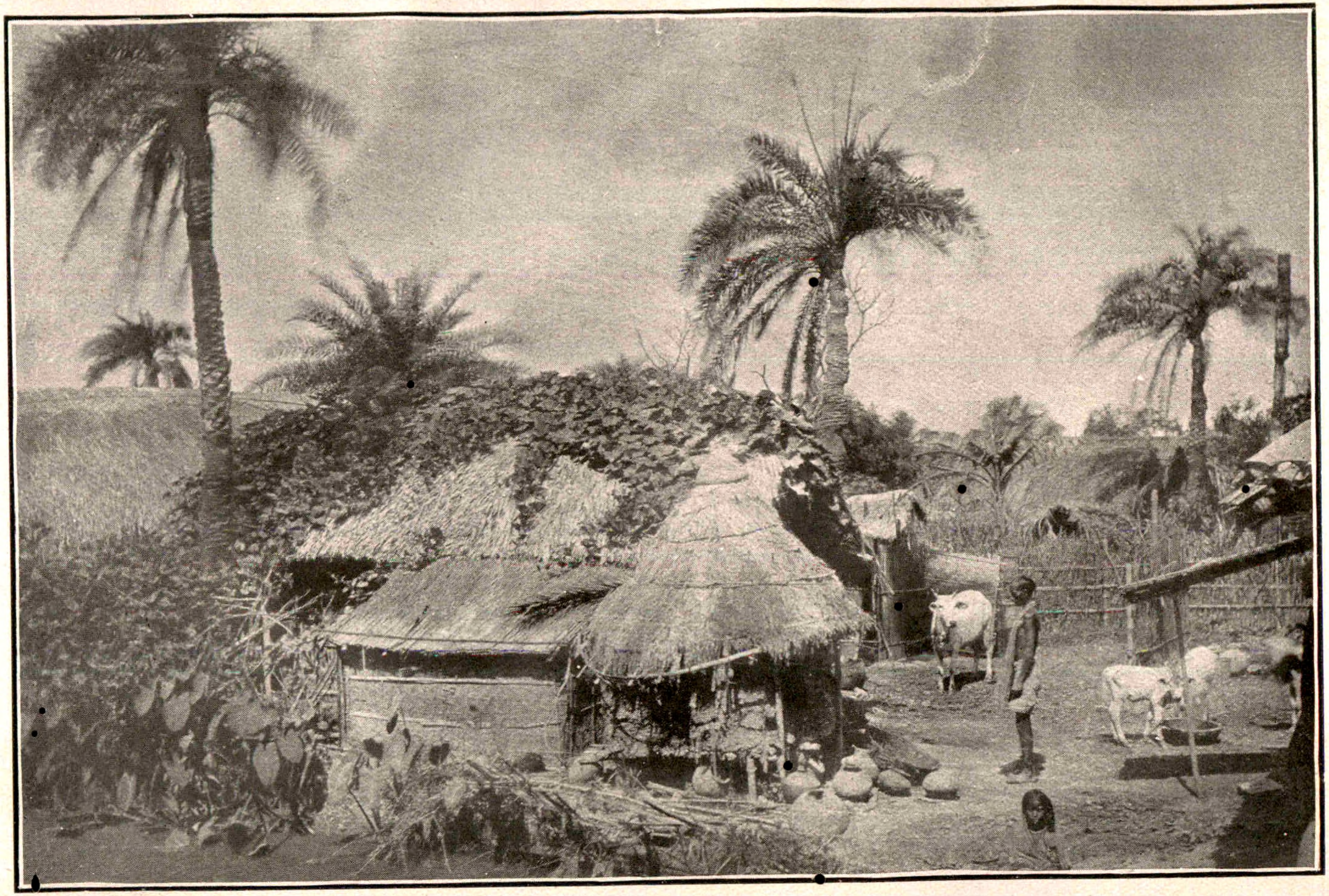
PASTORAL BENGAL

When you consider that seventy-two per cent. of the total population of India is devoted entirely to the business of Agriculture, you will realise that the Ryot, or tiller of the soil, is a figure of no little importance in the industrial history of this great country. Two hundred and twenty-five millions of people is no inconsiderable number to be reckoned with in the future development of a nation: and, according to statistics, at least that number of men, who might be classed under the head of peasantry, live solely on the profits of their labour in this country.

There is much to be said in favour of pastoral life in Bengal and of its people. Never having known the complexities and annoyances encountered in the over-emphasis of the nonessential, they are happily free from the cares imposed by modern civilization.

The farmer finds contentment in simple, natural things; partaking of his pleasures with frank and childlike abandonment, entering into the diversions and recreations that lend colour and variety to his monotonous life of toil. He works hard to obtain the necessities of daily life; to earn the food to sustain his sometimes large family, and he has never tasted the luxuries that weaken the fibres and breed idleness and discontent in the "higher classes."

India is seen at her best, not in the overcrowded marts of large cities, nor in "mongrel ports" and the beaten track of the casual visitor; her best types are not always found in the "Europeanized" Indian who apes the manners of newer countries, in the mistaken idea that it adds to his own racial personality. The introduction of the motor car has taken away much of the old romance and picturesque atmospheres of India's traffic, as once was seen in the days of the palanquin, the tonga, the *howdah* and the *ekka*. Unfortunately, modernity brings its vices



RURAL BENGAL

as well as its virtues, and in the cities the leisurely, comfortable and spacious life of yesterday in India has changed.

Here in the metropolis we see a picture that is kaleidoscopic, swift-moving and fermented; becoming more and more involved in the absorption of business that is characteristic of the West; but we do not see a picture of representative, traditional India.

If you would know and love India as she is, you must leave the cities behind you and go into the interior, into the country villages, where life moves on, untouched by Time; and where the simple peasant lives his busy life as a tiller of the soil, whose chief interests are in agriculture.

There in some sunny, peaceful, palm-sheltered hamlet of mud-and-thatch huts, dwell millions of India's people, pursuing the even tenor of their ways—cheerful and honest; devout adherents to ingrained principles of ancient religious beliefs. There the social laws are equally unchanged, and the bonds of the family unit are forged in the traditions of a thousand years. There is courtesy and hospitality to the stranger, if one approaches the people in the right spirit of sympathy and understanding.

Up with the sun in the morning, the man of the house goes to his work in field or paddy, where he labours with his hands, and the primitive but effective implements of husbandry that have served his kind for centuries. When his day's work is done at sunset, he returns to his humble homestead; partakes of his simple, wholesome evening meal, and then perchance, gives himself up to the joys of domesticity, playing with his sturdy brown babies, enjoying his "hookah"; beating a drum or piping a Bengali folk-song on a reed flute. His digestion has not been impaired by the rich gastronomic atrocities designed to tickle the jaded palate of the city business man; he is satisfied with curry, rice, *dahl*, and the plain produce of his garden. He is weary with a good weariness, that of the body which has earned its night repose in honest healthy labour in the open all day long. Sleep in his string-bed puts a period to his day's routine, which is repeated endlessly, and in what to some of us would seem intolerable monotony; but he is not conscious of the boredom of such repetition, and there is no monotony where there is no consciousness of it.

The chief subjects of conversation centres around the crops, the cattle, market prices, "pice," the village gossip and such homely subjects; perhaps not interesting to the outside world, but absorbing to the homely world that holds these simple folk.

The little household is well ordered; usually dominated by a shrewd mother or the head of the family, who takes precedence over the wife, and whose authority is unquestioned in domestic matters.

The women of the family spin thread and cloth on primitive looms and with old-time methods, but the fruit of their industry is far superior to the sleazy and shoddy materials that masquerade in the markets of the larger towns. Home-made articles, fashioned by careful and busy hands, are more highly prized and more durable, than machine-made wares proclaiming a false cheapness.

The duties of the women extend into the culinary department, where they prepare the food, polish the brass *lotās* and pots, and also keep a supply of cow-manure fuel on hand which they make into large cakes and plaster on the walls of their houses to dry in the sun. Wood is not plentiful in the cultivated areas, and the "oop-la" fuel is sufficient unto their needs. The acrid smoke that rises from the cooking fires is said to keep away mosquitoes and other annoying insects.

The "Lares and Penates" of an Indian household are of Spartan simplicity, and consist generally of a few drinking and cooking vessels of brass; a string bed or two; a few garments suspended on pegs; bedding stowed in the rafters during the day; and the family treasure chest, which usually contains the family horoscopes and jewels of silver or brass worn on state occasions. Household gods, of gaily painted mud, occupy some niche of honour, or stand beneath a fig or *pipul* tree in the yard without.

The floors and walls of the cottage are kept scrupulously clean with applications of a mixture of cow-manure and water which acts as a sort of natural shellac, and, it is said, contains the virtues of a disinfectant.

The numerous progeny of a peasant household are initiated into the exigencies of a tropical climate early in life; rubbed with mustard oil, their eyes painted with kohl, they are placed in a state of nudity in the sun, to become inured to the heat. But Nature has given a pigment of protective colouring to the tropical baby, and with it the power of resistance to the extreme heat which would cause speedy sunstroke to the less acclimated child of the West. The Indian child remains unclothed for the first five or six years of its life, except for the little amulets of good luck that hang around its waist or neck. Later on but little is added to its wardrobe in the way of sartorial encumbrances. A scant *dhoti* in summer; a shawl in winter is considered sufficient. The women, innocent of corsets, shoes, or other strictures of the flesh imposed by civilization, wear *saris* which act as a covering for both the body and the head. They are worn with much grace and add to the lines of free beauty and lightness of the natural figure. The rhythmic walk of the Indian woman is something that the daughters of the western world may well envy. There is much of dignity in the untrammelled stride of limbs unhampered by the ugly garments of modern fashion.

An Indian country homestead usually consists of a two- or three-roomed cottage of mud-and-bamboo, roofed with palm thatch or paddy, with a veranda in front which in good weather serves as an *al fresco* dining room. The quarters of the men and women are separate and the cooking quarters are set apart for the rites of food preparations. The men eat alone, served by the women. There is an absence of cutlery, napery and plate; fingers were made before forks, and serve very well in the process of eating. Food is taken from the common pot, or sometimes placed in a fresh leaf platter, The out-buildings comprise a cow-shed and a granary where is stored the food of the family from harvest to harvest. In the garden grow mango, papaya, custard-apples, bananas, and other fruits in tropical profusion, and there is a cultivated patch of garden truck as well.

The cultivation of paddy is the chief industry, and next in importance comes pulse, and other grains, sugar-cane, cotton and tobacco.

The paddy is usually gathered in two crops: the winter paddy, cut in December and the summer paddy, reaped in August. Rice is the main staple food of Bengal; its cultivation is not difficult and Nature assists in giving it a speedy growth. First the earth is furrowed and ploughed, and the ground is carefully planted by hand. The tropical fecund soil promotes rapid germination and the fields are systematically irrigated in the dry season and flourish naturally in the rainy season. When the rice is ripe, it is cut and threshed in the simple method of beating the sheaves against boards. It is then husked, and the finished product, *Chawl*, is ready for consumption.

The Bengal peasant practically lives on rice which is par-boiled or eaten dried and parched; both "*bhat*" "*atapa*," when washed down with large draughts of water causes distended stomach or "rice-belly" so evident in the anatomy of Bengali children. If necessity called for it, the people could exist on *rice* and fruit, but there is generally plenty of fish, fowl (*morgi*) or mutton to vary the curries in which Indians excel.

The Bengal peasant scrupulously obeys the religious laws of cleanliness, and before he eats, he bathes with ceremony and prayers, just as a Christian is supposed to say grace before meat. He also dons clean clothes and sits to his food only after he has followed the Hindu customs of ablution.

The plain fare of the farmer is embellished with a variety of sweetmeats, which are concocted of curds and honey or sugar and rolled into little balls called "*sandesh*." It is considered nutritive and appetising, as are the other varieties of sweets made of sugar and nuts and sometimes covered with silver-foil. Pân is, of course, the inevitable and eternal complement of the diet, and its use is universal in India.

The day of a villager is not idle; there are many things to be done even in a small homestead. There are cows and goats to milk; fodder to mix, fields to work; and for the women the duties of house-cleaning; sweeping the yard, cooking, sewing, spinning and the like.

The sacred Cow is the most invaluable member of an Indian household. She pulls the plough, gives milk which is made into curds and *ghee* (clarified butter): and furnishes the family fuel.

The calm peace of the village is enlivened with weddings, feasts, festivals, and fairs. There are special celebrations at harvest time, on which occasions there is much merry-making, music, dancing and singing. Frequent bands of "Nats," or snake charmers, conjurors, and nautch-girls, come through the villages to furnish enjoyment, and the children delight in the antics of trained monkeys, bears and goats. There is colour and animation in these simple out-door entertainments that lend variety to the drab life of the village people.

The Cultivator is the typical figure of Bengal and in his life you see the real India. While compared to western standards the people are very poor in actual coin, for their earnings are infinitesimally small in proportion to their labour; food is cheap and the average farmer raises all he needs and is easily satisfied. His plot of land is frequently rent-free, or if he is a tenant, he pays low house rent. His few acres produce a margin of profit if he is careful. His greatest expenses are in financing the inevitable marriages and funerals which call for an output of cash according to his station in life. The frugal cultivator, who spends but little on his own meagre belongings, will eagerly go into debt for six months or a year in order to put up a good showing at the marriage of his daughter.

The father of the bride will take on the burden of all the marriage expenses, as his pride demands that he spares no pains in making such an occasion one of lavish expenditure and show.

The advent of a baby girl casts a shadow for years beforehand over the family, who know that one day they will be called upon to provide a suitable wedding which will tax their limited resources.

Both marriages and funerals are caste-festivals and it is compulsory to the orthodox Hindu to meet the demands which his religious laws put upon him. On these occasions, most of the money is laid out in a feast for the visitors. For a wedding, not gifts to the bride, but much food, music and fire-works. For funerals about the same expenses must be incurred in feasts which correspond to an Irish wake.

So are the family fortunes depleted and so are the men frequently landed in debt for months to come. But the peasant is invariably true to the traditions of his forbears and he bears, uncomplainingly, the heavy burdens which a faithful observance of his caste-laws places upon him.

Unfortunately he is too often the victim of the cunning usurer who weaves a tangled web over the helpless peasant with extortionate rates of interest, compound and multiplied compound.

The debt increases in ratio to the time it runs, until the original sum is beyond recognition. Since the complacent usurer grows fat on the profits of an illegitimate business that passes muster under the head of the all-embracing "Custom," there is not much hope of improvement along the lines of cleaning out the country of these villainous opportunists.

There are bright spots in the tedium of the peasant's work; he sings as he labours in the fields; old songs handed down literally by word of mouth, from the traditions of the Past, and adapted to all the phases of his life. Music is a part of his daily life and helps him to bear his burdens cheerfully and patiently.

Some of the old social laws regarding the women of the Indian family are still followed in the remote villages of Bengal.

Although the barbarous practice of *Sati* has been abolished, except in occasional instances, the unfortunate widow cannot re-marry; but she must cut off her hair, put aside all personal adornment, and become the family drudge. It is said that in India there are four millions of widows still in their twenties, thousands still at the tender age of six or seven, doomed to long years of colourless sacrifice.

While the more enlightened Hindus are endeavouring to change these stringent laws, the condition of widows in India has not been sufficiently improved in the outlying districts. But in spite of it all, the population grows apace.

The light of the house is a son, and on him the husband and father depends for his future happiness. He is the desired one, the darling of the heart, and in him are centred the hopes and prayers of the family.

The life-history of a countryman may seem narrow and monotonous to us, but there are compensations here as in other walks of life. Besides the marriages and funnerals, feasts and religious festivals, there is the county Fair; an occasion anticipated for months ahead. A Fair is much the same in any language—one sees the same good-natured gathering of the people, absorbed in sports, games, plays, and the displaying and bartering of wares in wayside booths. There is noise, laughter, music and animation which furnishes the villager with much interest and pleasure, as well as a topic of conversation before and after the Fair.

The life of a peasant is near to Nature and to the beasts of the field with whom he keeps in such close contact. His animals share his daily burdens in much the same spirit of inarticulate patience. There is a bond of sympathy and understanding between the dumb brutes and their masters who spend many hours daily in toil together, and it is but natural that they should exhibit some of the same qualities.

The average Indian is forced, again by custom, to shoulder the responsibility of supporting a large number of dependents, relations and idlers who do little to earn their salt. They subsist on the bounty of a generous and good-natured master of the house, who is so tolerant that he allows himself to be imposed upon by a lot of human parasites from whom the most he can expect is that they will swell the line of mourners to follow him at last to the funeral pyre.

Underneath the calm peaceful aspect of the Bengali's pastoral life, lies the shadow of mysterious Nature, to whose forces he attributes the presence of evil spirits, *bhuts*, ghosts and demons to be feared and propitiated. The spirit of Animism, that oldest of religions, still pervades India, especially among the lower classes, who in spite of their polytheistic beliefs, or because of them, cannot rid themselves of the ancient fetishes of their early forbears.

The quality of superstition, however, is not confined to the more unlettered members of the *genus-homo*, which, ignored or denied, is deeply ingrained in the mind of man, primitive or otherwise.

We cannot deny the existence of such present-day superstitions as fear of the thirteenth, of Fridays, of spilling salt, of seeing the new moon through a tree, of a dog howling, of dreams and signs. The fetishes of the more primitive races are but a step backwards into yesterday, and are drawn from a common source.

In India there are many superstitions, and taboos, especially in the interior. In remote villages there are "jungle medicine men" who are employed to exorcise evil spirits. Astrology and the making of horoscopes play an important part in the lives of the people. Lucky and unlucky days are noted and no serious undertakings are attempted unless the influences are propitious. Spirits are supposed to pervade inanimate objects in Nature ; dryads inhabit trees ; spirits dwell in the mountains and rivers ; and even disease itself is presided over by a God or Goddess.

Reverence for the sacred Ganges is one of the strongest influences in the mind of the orthodox Hindu. At Hardwar and Benares countless pilgrimages are performed yearly by devout worshippers. A drop of Ganges water carries virtue wherever it goes. The influence of "The River of Peace" is far-reaching and profound.

Charms and amulets are worn to keep off the evil eye and other malign influences. Fetishes and taboos of all sorts hold powerful sway over the credulity of the peasant class and others. But have we become so enlightened and superior that we disdain to carry a lucky piece in our pocket books? The sailor and the gambler of the West is fully as superstitious as the average Indian, although he may not admit it.

The taboo, as in Africa and other old countries, is important, and the list is too long to enumerate. Caste intermarriage is a taboo, which perhaps, when traced to its fountain head, contains a rational element. Food taboos are more inexplicable and inconsistent.

Animal worship has existed for centuries in many countries; the totem is as significant here as in Egypt, Greece, or among North American Indians. In India the monkey is respected; in some districts peacocks are taboo; snakes are the emblem of many ancient fetishes, particularly the cobra, or "Nag," The Cow takes the lead in importance, "Mother Bhagavati" is worshipped and cow-killing is the most heinous of crimes. The cow and the products of the cow are of vital value in the peasant life of India. She stands, too, for a type of uncomplaining patience and gentleness, virtue and usefulness.

There is a cult of the worship of the spirits of the departed, and annual festivals to ancestors are held by the pious Hindu.

Hero worship springs from the old epics of the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, and other sacred books of the East. Manifestations of divinity are sought within the known world; the many gods and godlings, some of grotesque shape, portray the attributes of the super-human, imagined in the mind of the man who dwells in the land of plague, cholera, fever and sudden death. These are some of the shadows that hang over old India.

Nature can be cruel as well as kind, and the dark side of the picture may not be ignored in a true presentation of the Arcadian life of the peasant of Bengal. To placate the evil forces prevalent in the great centres, a multitude of Cults have been born and are fostered by the superstitious and credulous; but in spite of all this there are many sunny sides to life in India; silver and gold threads that run through the warp and woof of the sometimes gloomy tapestry of the chapters of her history, her trials, her perplexities and problems.

Man is a resilient creature, and recuperates quickly from the ills that beset him; he responds readily to the cheerful influences about him and forgets the dark in enjoyment of the light of the moment.

The white spires of innumerable temples still point upward to the light; the crystalline note of countless temple bells still call the worshipper to prayer and praise; the composite heart of the people still beats in a harmony of hope, of faith, and belief in ultimate good. The seasons come and go and bring their joys in harvest and festivals; the cycle moves onward and upward in a broadening spiral. While the pessimism of Indian thought, in a too sensitive response to introspection and meditation, creates the ascetic who spends his life in useless self-sacrifice and martyrdom; there is a large balance in favour of the normal, natural, simple and sincere man who lives, as he was intended to live, as does the cultivator whom we have taken for our type. His philosophy is good, and though he may not be conscious of it in so many words, he lives it—which is better. The dawn finds him, girding his loins, ready for the day's works, in all honour and good cheer and industry, in harmony with his surroundings where he is at one with Nature and the Great Spirit which pervades all life.

LILY STRICKLAND-ANDERSON

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

Though Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is not now in his mortal flesh his thought has not died. It cannot die. Few equals may arise in the future as there were few equals in the past before him, but one thing is certain, his spirit will live to lead towards the goal which was his.

As at certain epochs in the history of nations, whenever peoples are to be saved from some terrible gulf and placed on a higher plane, a chosen one is born among them who, endowed by God with higher gifts of the Spirit, wisdom and strength, manifests the Divinity anew to them, so it may be said about Sir Asutosh that he at a time when among the people of Bengal manhood and learning were not raising their heads *pari passu*, as in other countries, he came to elevate the character and advance the higher learning of our countrymen.

Though we greatly lament the irreparable loss by his death, when the country was least prepared to lose him, yet as it is certain that all things happen for good in the universe, the life that he lived will not go for naught. Nature does not do anything aimlessly. Birth or death, success or failure, pleasure or pain,—no single event goes for nothing, but has a lofty objective in eternity. Nothing is lost in Nature. All events take place to fill up together the complement which constitutes the whole—and the whole is glorious.

If I am to compare Sir Asutosh with anyone or anything, I am irresistibly reminded of the *Virat Purusha*, or the stupendous being, of the *Bhagabat Gita—minores et majores*—in which is contained the great philosopher, the great mathematician, the great scientist, the great scholar of ancient learning, the great educationist, the great patriot, the great philanthropist, the great undaunted and indomitable man, the most gentle spirit, the most faithful friend, the most devoted server of the country, etc.

In a single personality Sir Asutosh commanded the unique admiration of the Hindu, the Buddhist, the Christian and the Moslem alike. Endowed with a towering genius and supported by an innate masterly authority, the diverse religions, seemed by a synthetic process, reconciled in him. All paid honour to him as he paid homage to Christ of the West, the Brahma of the East and all *nabis* of the world, recognising in them the identical Divinity and wisdom under different symbols.

The spirit of Sir Asutosh will not perish, but will still live and be engaged in the generation he has left behind him, in a manner beyond our ken, for spirit does not become destitute of its attributes at death. The law of *Karma* is not a material thing that perishes at any time, even if it does not immediately take another material form. As it persists to live after the dissolution of the body, his thought will not die which strove hard to put the culture of the West and the wisdom of the East in the melting pot for the production of the truth which is not passing but eternal.

For this mission of his life, for which he sacrificed his best, he was attacked, but to him *laborare est orare* was the guiding principle of life. God is a God of harmony and his life was a continuous labour for establishing harmony between the peoples of different climes and attainments. God's goodness will triumph and it will never cease to bear fruit in time as the forces against it are human ignorance and depravity, oppression of great intellect and the tyranny of the prevailing power of the time, etc. But all these are ephemeral agents of evil which has no existence in the principles of God. The love of Science and Art, the exponents of God's power and goodness, to advance which his thought laboured so faithfully, will live in the spirit of the generation he has left behind him and will stimulate it to follow his example of zealous service.

Peace be to the thought which was wounded in the execution of its noble mission. Blessings be to the *Karma-body* which still retains its statical virtues.

G. C. GHOSH

Reviews

"Ancient Wings" (1923) and **"Grey Clouds and White Showers"** (1924) by Harindranath Chattopadhyay (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras).

This young aspirant for poetic fame has already established his claim to a place of honour among Indian writers of English verse of a really superior quality hailing as he does from a gifted family with which no less a name than that of Sarojini Naidu is connected and these two small books of poems are not his first efforts.

To a thorough command of a foreign language which he handles with a master's ease he adds skill in managing a large variety of metrical forms made rich by rhythmic movements caught by one who possesses a sensitive ear for true poetic music.

The earlier volume arrests attention by its stronger and more pervasive mystic note and many of the pieces in it are full of the Shelleyan wistful yearning for something afar from the sphere of our sorrow which thrills the unsatisfied spirit unhappily forced to cling to the fleeting things of this earth.

"The Earthen Goblet," for instance, chafes under the plastic pressure of the Potter's warm hand for being confined to its limited form. But in "Illumination" the visionary mood, intense in its longing for union with the Beauty "whose shadow ever haunts our human way" so reminiscent of Shelley's Intellectual Beauty, changes into kinship with the wearied spirit of Matthew Arnold eager for the vast serene of the unbroken "tranquil richness of belief" that seeks and finds repose in God and in the "Cloud" this vague indefinite yearning abruptly takes a decidedly Oriental turn (or a mediæval one) by being defined as one for "home-returning" from "this narrow prison-cell." "Inspiration" and "Transmutation" are also full of the spiritual hankering of a soul athirst for the Infinite. The soul of ancient Ind breathes in and through the pantheistic "Nirvana" and the Vedantic "Ultimate."

But other chords are also struck as in "Evolution" with its Tennysonian optimism thus expressed—

> "Nay, do not grieve.........There is no flaw
> In aught we see from sky to sod,
> Far-hidden, the eternal law
> Of rhythm moves the world of God"

and in the Wordsworthian "Fashioning" as also in "Optimism" flavoured with a refined sensuous appreciation of beauty reminiscent of Keats.

Variety is lent by beautiful little epigrammatic pieces like "Motherhood" and "Orator," by the cameo-like vignette called "Contrast" and lastly by "Conquest" which unlike "Moonlight" justifies its title by transmuting a conceit into poetry. Even didacticism is not under a ban and we have in the first volume "The Cause," "The Philosopher," "Interdependence" corresponding to "Venom," "The Lonely City," "The Price" and "Suffering Bird" of the later one where, however, the poet's craftsmanship shows even in such experiments a growing skill in the use of poetic imagery.

The keynote to the second book is furnished by the line—"My soul grows hungry for the dim Beyond" but here the poet who soars on the yet unwearied *ancient* wings of "Bharatvarsha" strengthens his kinship with the ancient singers of India till this latter-day singer's heart "thrills with memories of some lost world"—revived memories recalling the unfolding of the Divine in various ways and shapes to the poet sages (*Rishis*) of his hoary Motherland. A number of poems, notable for their high intrinsic poetic quality like "Lamps," "Marriage," "Eras" and "In the Evening," sound the distinct Hindu note of the One appearing as the many and we have once more to refer to the Oriental touch of a deep mystic vision in the "Sleep," "Voice," and "The Secret." "The Cycle" (of desire) with its grand theme of cosmic evolution involving a double process is equally remarkable. "Lamps," Marriage," "Eras" possess each its own merit but "Wayside Flower" breathing the sober perfume of noble and trustful resignation to the divine dispensation in a disenchanted world full of trials and woes, "The Poet" sure of the glorious destiny of that type of world's teachers and "Memory" for its pathetic note of quiet sadness deserve special notice.

A more poetic and sparing use of conceits is noticed in "Holiday" and "Thirst" in which conceit is tempered with a divine restfulness not found in "A Clouded Night" which is rather darkened with conceits.

"Garments" comes very near to some of Rabindranath's best utterances in verse and we cordially hail the "Message" with its higher realism conveying to us the useful hint of a modern spirit capable of properly appreciating the importance and sanctity of earthly existence as it is.

In point of variety of rhyme arrangement and stanza structure as also of deftness in producing metrical effects, say by such means as the internal rhymes of "After-Sunset," this second volume of poems marks a decided advance upon the earlier one.

Our personal preferences (if that can bear mention) are "The Dance of Siva," which besides being a sublime poetic effort is so rich in associations to all lovers of Indian art, in the first volume and "Nocturne" and "In the Evening" in the second.

Lastly one ungentle word which seems to be needed.

We sincerely regret that young Harindranath should be tempted to follow Wordsworth in singing (?) scornfully of the critic in the poem of that name, for angry sermons do not come from him either justifiably or gracefully. Nothing daunted, we have to discharge what we still unrepentantly consider a sacred duty, while never for a moment forgetting that "the poet sings for the joy of singing"—provided, of course, that he too does not forget that there are "scranal pipes." Can he not also in his turn, though apparently claiming privilege, do worse than remember that even though the critic is "oft a lampless clod" the entire race do

> Not "come with" their "little envious span
> A hollow phrase and a measuring rod."

Verily there are critics and critics : so are there poets and poets.

Do poets again, simply or always *sing* and that for nothing but joy ? Here is a veritable Frankenstein imprudently and needlessly raised. Milton, the mighty-mouthed organ voice of England or (if, indeed, our poet really loves the East) Kalidas, the poet of *Meghaduta,* can teach him something. Milton who was long choosing and beginning late is the fitter person to remind all young singers inclined to indulge far too much *in the joy* of singing that poets of the right stamp are MAKERS and they too alas ! must learn the cunning of their art.

Besides, Wordsworth in his day had good reason to be cross with the critics and Shelley in *Adonais* was simply misled. Byron's wounded *amour propre* could plead little better than the hot-blood of youth too full of sensitive pride.

Why should a young poet having to his credit such a nice piece as "*The Poet*" and whose meed of praise seems to be ample affect crabbed ill-temper in days when every schoolboy that versifies and shouts "open barley" at Apollo's shrine runs the risk of being spoilt by the doting caresses of grandmotherly critics too tender to the sensibilities of the irritable race ?

Poets, indeed, occasionally "rhyme for the joy of rhyming" and we will not grudge them a pastime but is that reason why they should also print for the sake of printing? At any rate publishers should know better, Are we to suspect that more is meant than meets the ear in "Venom"?

J. G. B.

"**The Chilswell Book of English Poetry**" compiled and annotated for the use of schools by the Poet Laureate Dr. Robert Bridges and dedicated to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales (Longmans, 1924, 6-6 net):—This is a handsomely bound, gilt-edged, presentable volume, neatly printed on thick glazed paper, which at once commends itself to people who have use for selections of poems either of established fame or with a quality rightly calculated to gain for them a similar recognition. One need not say how fortunately sponsored this new anthology is being ushered into the literary world. A noticeable feature is the presence of poems of living authors about which something may, no doubt, be said both pro and con. But surely this volume of 219 pieces thus gains in its representative character—the limits of its range being Spenser, Raleigh, Shakespeare and Jonson on the one end and Kipling, Newbolt, Walter de la Mare, Masefield and Yeats on the other, Alexander Pope being not excluded from this company. Marryat, Clare, Emily Bronta, Hawker, Dixon and Bourdillon as also Poe and Whitman have each his appropriate niche and even Byron's *jeu d'esprit* "Dear Doctor, I have read your play" has gained a passport.

But the "stronger claim of older writers" has been maintained—only longer pieces (unless the Nativity Ode, L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Lycidas and the Ancient Mariner are excepted as such) have been excluded. Many poems find recognition in this anthology perhaps for the first time but it is hardly possible here to subject to a critical examination the claim of each individual piece and justify or question its right to inclusion, however strong may be one's temptation to take the task in the case of selected pieces the merit of which is not so undisputed as to have ensured their honoured place in good and popular anthologies of standing.

The usual conveniences are all there—of Notes, judiciously sparing, which aim at "explanation of allusions and obscurities" or give a really elucidating piece of information, in addition to Footnotes—"primarily a glossary of obsolete or dialectical words"—so useful for ready reference, Index of Authors and of First Lines and lastly of an Explanation of References.

The general editorial plan seems to have been suggested by Palgrave's excellent and worthily famous "Golden Treasury" in 4 Books published by the Oxford University Press.

The arrangement of the poems is regulated by the order of simple poems being followed by more difficult ones except when poems are grouped together for subject matter (and this has been done irrespective of chronology to which little deference is paid).

The Text, we learn, has had the benefit of a careful colleation.

The Preface (delightfully short but *multum in parvo*) makes one pause by reason of its high quality though it is rather unusual for reviews to make it the immediate subject of a critical notice. The first part on Poetry (defined as the most intimate expression of man's spirit) and its function and on its special claim as a means of the highest type of education (when so many newfangled rival claims are to-day so clamorous) and subordinately on language and the musical diction of poetry is very thoughtful and highly suggestive and it indirectly and quietly rebuts the Wordsworthian dicta. There is a ring of high seriousness in this carefully worded short preface animated by a noble idealism for which there is a strong need in these days.

The second part bears on the present anthology which "is unfalteringly faithful to a sound principle hitherto insufficiently observed" (page ix) —the principle that to the young should be offered not what they can easily understand, whatever may its poetic quality be, but only the best models in both technique and æsthetic. We here in the East are at once reminded how this sound view is endorsed in his "Memoir" by Rabindranath Tagore and illustrated and justified by its result in his life-history.

We will not dwell on the somewhat elaborate defence within a very short compass of the principle thus adopted which, again, is used in the volume as a guide to selection and rejection, emphasis being laid on the anthology being particularly meant as a school-book as explained by its fuller title and supplemented by the Preface (page ix, Section II).

The editor's chastened classical tastes make him an anxious, if not a fastidious, guardian of the purity of his native speech (a fact abundantly known to the readers of his poetry), and in this sacred duty of guardianship he expects his anthology to be materially helpful. Is this the reason why we find him in this role of the editor of an anthology? Then he may be said to have taken his cue from Palgrave with, of course, an individual difference.

We finally congratulate the publishers on their new venture hoping that its popularity in spite of there being many competitors in the field (one or two, indeed, formidable) is after all a question of time.

J. G. B.

The Sutta-nipāta—One of the Oldest Canonical Books of the Buddhists, for the first time edited in Devanāgari characters, by P. V. Bapat, M.A., Professor of Pāli, Fergusson College, Poona, etc.—First Edition—Poona, 1924. 8vo, pp. 209.

Every one who is interested in the study of Pāli and Buddhism will hail with delight a new edition of the oldest anthology of the Buddhists and thank Prof. Bapat for the immense pains he has taken to make his work acceptable to scholars. The book consists of a very interesting historical Introduction, the Text of the Suttanipāta, a Commentarial Supplement and four useful Indexes. The Introduction leaves nothing to be desired: every appreciable aspect of the Suttanipāta has been noticed and dealt with at full length, *e.g.*, its relation to the Pāli literature and to Buddhism in general, its antiquity, the importance of its study, its authorship, its subject-matter, the classification of its suttas and their nomenclature, its language and style, versification, parallelisms and, lastly, a general survey of the whole work, which affords us a delightful glimpse into the Buddhist community in its primitive stage, the condition of Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, the life of the monk, the life and philosophy of the Muni, ancient poetry and poetics, ancient geography of India, Buddhism in its ethical aspect and Nibbāna. The emendation of the Text bears ample testimony to the unsparing labour and perseverance of the author. The copious parallels, quoted and referred to in the footnotes are exhaustively supplied not only from Pāli literature but also from such extraneous works as the Rigveda, the Mahābhārata, the Bhagavad Gītā, the Avadānaśataka, the Divyâvadāna, the Lalitavistara, the Mahāvastu, the Āyārangasutta, the Uttarajjhayanasutta and the Sūyagadaṅga, not excepting the famous 'Manuscrit Dutreuil de Rhins,' and the English Bible. Besides, quite a number of journals, papers and books bearing on the subject find mention in the laboured footnotes, which also include variants from different manuscripts. To facilitate the understanding of archaisms and teeming technicalities of the Suttanipāta, extracts from the Commentary have been very judiciously selected and appended to the work. The Indexes, though not intended to be exhaustive, have a value peculiarly their own, dealing as they do with : (I) Proper names—subdivided into (*i*) persons, sects and peoples, and (*ii*) places, rivers, countries, mountains ; (II) similes and metaphor ; (III) Subjects and important words ; and (IV) the Diṭṭhis.

The publication of a cheap, easily available and masterly edition in Devanāgari of such a difficult work has not only eclipsed the reputation of the Pāli Text Society but has completely revolutionized Oriental research and scholarship. Prof. Bapat has laid students of Pāli under a deep debt of gratitude. His task has assuredly been not an easy one : for its glorious execution he has only to thank his own memory, erudition and devotion. There is not a page in the present edition which does not bespeak a careful and cautious handling. Prof. Bapat, let us assure him, need be in no uncertain mind as to his reward, for the rare scholarly qualities of the author, disclosed in this excellent edition of the Suttanipāta, have gained for him a respect such as could be claimed by a Rhys Davids only. The more we shall have of such publications, the richer we shall be.

SAILENDRANATH MITRA

India in World Politics by Taraknath Das, Ph. D., Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York City, pp. 135. Price $1·25.

By copious quotations from English public men of different political schools and parties Dr. Das has proved to the satisfaction of every critical reader that India's part in shaping Britain's aggressive foreign policy in Asia and Africa has not been inconsiderable. "India has been instrumental," says he, "in bringing sorrow and distress to Persia, Siam, China, Arabia, Turkey and Mesopotamia. It is India's duty to help these nations in their struggle against imperialism as well as to strive to throw off her own bonds." He assures the countries of Asia, Africa and America that India free will be to them a source of greater peace, strength and security than India in bondage. While he urges the Indian patriots not to confine their activities to India alone but to build up a strong foreign relation and to make alliances with eastern countries like Egypt, Persia, Afghanistan and China.

The book is well-written and certainly thought-provoking.

S. N. S.

The Late Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu

Ourselves

THE LATE MR. BHUPENDRANATH BASU.

While going to the press we were shocked to hear of the death of Mr. Bhupendranath Basu. He died full of years and full of honours. As a public man of great versatility of character, Mr. Basu occupied a prominent place in Bengal and his death in quick succession to Sir Asutosh Chowdhury and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee will cast the shadow of a deep gloom all over the country and our University in particular. Free from trammels of office we feign hoped Mr. Basu would be able to place his never failing tact, his strong commonsense and his unerring judgment at the disposal of his *alma mater* but our expectations, like all human hopes, have been falsified. We hardly find words of comfort for Mrs. Basu who has lost three daughters, a son, a grandson and an ideal husband within so short a time. May his soul rest in peace.

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DR. BHAGABAT KUMAR GOSWAMI.

Our congratulations to Dr. Bhagabat Kumar Goswami, Sastri, M.A., Professor, Hughly College, who has just been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of this University. Dr. Sastri submitted two theses on "The Bhakti Cult of India" and "Bhaktir Prān." The Board of Examiners consisted of such eminent Orientalists as Professor Winternitz, Professor Sylvain Levi and Professor Julius Jolly.

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PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION IN LAW.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 1,156 of whom 432 passed, 420 failed, 1 was expelled and 304 were absent. Of the successful candidates, 13 were placed in first class.

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INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION IN LAW.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 613 of whom 334 passed, 140 failed and 139 were absent. Of the successful candidates, 22 were placed in first class.

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FINAL EXAMINATION IN LAW.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 743 of whom 291 passed, 134 failed, and 318 were absent. Of the successful candidates, 15 were placed in first class.

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THE MYMENSINGH BALLADS.

The following appreciations of Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen's *Mymensingh Ballads* will, we trust, gladden the hearts of all those who are interested in the cause of learning in Bengal and in particular, the advancement of Post-graduate studies in Indian vernaculars :

"EASTERN BENGAL BALLADS: MYMENSING: Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellowship Lectures for 1922-24 in two parts.

In these two volumes Dr. Dineshchandra Sen has for the first time made available, both for English and for Bengali readers, ten typical ballads (gatha) sung by professional minstrels in the district of Mymensingh. The words of the ballads have been taken down in writing from the lips of those who sing them by one Chandrakumur De, who has travelled into many out-of-the-way places in East Bengal for this purpose. It was an extremely difficult task which he set himself; he often found the professional singers whom he approached unwilling to disclose to a stranger the text of these songs, which had been handed to them as a private family possession; to recover the whole of a ballad he often had to make special journeys to several different places and to consult a number of different singers; and throughout his work he was handicapped by ill-health. It is to be hoped that the collaboration between him and Dr. Sen will continue and result in the preservation of many more of these ballads, which are of immense value both to the student of folk-lore and to the philologist.

The ballads mostly date from the 16th and 17th centuries, and throw a flood of light on the social, religious and political condition of Eastern Bengal in those days. The first volume (Vol. I, Part I) contains a valuable introduction by Dr. Sen, and an English translation (or more strictly a paraphrase) of the ten ballads. There is also a separate introduction to each ballad. The second volume (Vol. I, Part II) contains a Bengali introduction, the full Bengali text of each ballad, and a number of footnotes explaining obsolete words and provincialisms. There are eleven illustrations, and a literary map of Eastern Mymensingh. Embodied in some of the ballads are several interesting specimens of 'baramasi' poems—poems describing the twelve months of the year in relation to the experiences of the hero and heroine of the poem. The language throughout is the common village speech of the Mymensingh district, and is in delightful contrast to the artificial style of such writers as Bharatchandra, with its far-fetched conceits and high-sounding Sanskrit expressions.

Great as Dr. Sen's other services to the cause of Bengali literature have been, it is doubtful whether any of his previous works is a more valuable contribution to our knowledge of Bengali life and thought than this collection of ballads, which, but for his enterprise and the praiseworthy efforts of his collaborator, would in all probability in the course of the next few years have been lost beyond recovery.—*The Oriental List, Jan.—March, 1924.*

* * *

A writer needs more than merit in himself if his work is to attract wide notice; his subject-matter must have a quality of general appeal. Probably no scholar alive in India to-day has such a record as Dr. Dineschandra Sen, a record of patient, enthusiastic pioneer research, whose results have been valuable and full of interest. Fifty years ago, very little was known, even by Bengalis of old Bengali literature, and if such ignorance no longer prevails to-day, it is largely because of one man who, in spite of poverty and obscure beginnings and ill-health, has toiled through many years to bring his own land's history and literature to light. His journeyings should become a legend, and the Bengali imagination, centuries hence, should see one figure eternally traversing the Gangetic plain, now beaten upon by the fierce sun as he makes his way across the red, deeply fissured fields of Vishnupur, now floating on the rain-swept rivers of East Bengal. He has coaxed a cautious peasantry into opening their store of traditions and memories, and he has persuaded them to part with hundreds of old manuscripts that were stuffed into palm-leaf roofs or between bamboo rafters. If he has not made a nation's ballads he has discovered a great many of them. If a small part of this service had been rendered to a better-known literature it would have made him famous. But Bengal is popularly supposed to have had no history; and it has certainly been without the dramatic or catastrophic events which strike the imagination in the story of many lands. Plassey, despite Nabin Sen's song of lament over it, was not a disaster to Bengali arms though fought in Bengal. Agra and Lahore, Delhi and Seringapatam, evoke more romantic associations than Dacca or Murshidabad. Aurangzeb and Akbar, Pratap Singh and Tippu Sultan, mean a good deal even to a European; but Lakshman Sen and Hambir Singh mean nothing at all.

Yet the records brought to light by Dr. Sen concern a population of fifty millions, who speak as expressive and beautiful a language as there is anywhere in India, and whose literature is a thing that Indians outside Bengal regard with pride, as an enrichment of their common heritage. That literature has been flowering with amazing exuberance for nearly a century now; and as the Bengali mind grows in consciousness of itself and its achievement, it must increasingly be interested in the beginnings of that achievement. In his latest book, Dr. Sen has reclaimed a whole province for scholarship and study, the ballads of the Mymensingh borderland. As we know, a debatable land, where races and interests meet and sometimes clash, has a vivid life which often takes on spontaneous and vigorous expression. And the Mymensingh swamps and spreading rivers, a refuge to fugitive kings and struggling independences, a region where Bengal and Assam, Aryan and Mongolian meet and merge, have sheltered through the centuries much more than moving and beautiful stories. A great deal of Bengal's forgotten and neglected history lies hidden in these ballads.

In his introduction Dr. Sen tells how his notice was first drawn to he ballads. Nearly a dozen years ago he was interested by articles in an bscure and local magazine, and on inquiry found that they were by one handra Kumar De, a young man of no English education, in frail health nd wretchedly poor. He had been employed by a village grocer, on a lary of one rupee (sixteen pence) a month, "but was dismissed on the lea of incompetence and inattention." Probably the employer had reason r his action, for the boy was dreaming of his own country and her past. e got new work, this time munificently paid by two rupees a month, the ork of a rent-collector; he had to travel widely, and during his travels ard the old ballads. Dr. Sen persuaded Calcutta University to employ m; and by an expenditure of fifty rupees a month for three years over ,000 lines of Old Bengali poetry have been recovered. Dr. Sen exultantly marks:

"I would not have been more pleased if these lines were all gold. The ngs, perfectly artless, written mostly by Hindu and Muhammadan asants, often show the real heart of poetry, and some of them at least, believe, will rank next only to the most beautiful of the Vaisnava songs our literature."

He has found European scholars who share his enthusiasm. If other iends, both in England and Bengal, renew the charge that his enthusiasm r what is old is often like the uncritical joy of a man madly in love, he unmoved. The charge is familiar to him, and he puts it by with a ile. The mass of work that he has now brought forward is too large r hasty assessment, and even on a first view much of it is manifestly orer than he thinks it. But among these ballads are some tales so simple d appealing that they need only a more cunning literary presentation win recognition outside Bengal. And Dr. Sen, throughout his long and ccessful career as discoverer, has never done his land greater service than saving these stories that would so soon have faded out from the world.

The Times Literary Supplement, 7th August, 1924.

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Paris, 10th April, 1924.

Y DEAR FRIEND,

I am sorry I could not answer earlier your lovely letter, dated 10th nuary, 1924. I am growing more and more busy day by day since my ning back home. Still I cherished the hope of reading all your Ballads ore writing you, and I kept them faithfully on my desk all the time. t I had to content myself with the first one and with your learned

Introduction. To-day I am on the eve of Easter vacations, and I am confident I can now make time to enjoy a full reading of your delectable work. But I have read enough of it to anticipate the pleasure I can derive from it. Your enthusiasm at the discovery was fully justified. Your Eastern Bengal, you are so proud of, is positively an earthly replica of India's *Nandan*, a paradise of vegetation, sky, running water, a sporting place of Apsarases and Gandharvas, and you are another Narada coming to the world to repose above these celestial beauties, and in a way how attractive! This is the wonder of art that, owing to you, I could in the sad, dull, dim days of winter dream of a blue sky, of lovely rivers, of evergreen woods, of couples of lovers wandering amidst the wild beasts, indifferent to all dangers, raptured by their mutual love.

There is one dark side, the news you give me about your bad health. It may be that after such an unceasing strain of labour you had to suffer from a nervous depression. Even before I could meet you, I could guess that you are working in a constant strain of imagination and passion which overtaxes your bodily strength. I know that no sacrifice is of account to you for the love of your country. But India has not such a plenty of worthy worshippers that the loss of one of them may be indifferent. The work that you can do no one else can do or will do. Think of it and keep yourself ready for more work. This is a friend's wish and prayer.

But do not miss to send me a word that you are feeling better, and stronger, that you are recovering after this tremendous shock.

Believe me, my dear friend,

Ever yours,

SYLVAIN LEVI

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DEAR SIR,

Thank you very much for your kindness in sending me the firs volume of your Mymensingh Ballads. My sister and myself (she is my interpreter in English) have read it with great interest. The subject it deals with touches all mankind; the differences with European storie are due to reasons which are much more social than racial. The goo æsthetic taste that is felt in most of these ballads is also one of th characteristics of popular imagination in many of our Western countries "Womeder Wehmuth" as a beautiful song of Goethe's, put into musi by Beethoven, expresses it "The Pleasure of Tears."

It is true that with us French people, the people of Gaul, it reacts against this with our bold and boisterous joyful legends. Is there none of this kind of thing in Indian literature? I was specially delighted with the touching story of Madina which although only two centuries old, is an antique beauty and a purity of sentiment which art has rendered faithfully without changing it. Chandravati is a very noble story and Mahua, Kanka and Lila are charming (to mention only these ones).

The patient researches of Mr. Chandra Kumar De and your precious collaboration with him have brought to the historical science a valuable contribution to its efforts to solve the problems of popular literary creations. From where have these great primitive epics and ballads come? It seems very likely that they have always come from some poetic genius whose invention has struck the popular imagination. But the question is how much people deform his idea in putting it into the shape in which we find it? Which is the part of the collaboration of the multitude in this work of re-casting, which is continuous and spontaneous? Rarely has any one had the happy opportunity to seize an epic as one might say on the lips of the people who have given birth to it before writing had fixed it in some shape as you and Mr. Chandra Kumar have succeeded in doing in this case. I congratulate you sincerely for this beautiful work and I ask you, dear Sir, to believe in my high esteem and admiration.[1]

4th March, 1924. ROMAIN ROLLAND

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THE THIRD ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

We have been requested to publish the following:

SRI VENKATESA VILAS,
NADU STREET, MYLAPORE,
MADRAS.

The third session of the All-India Oriental Conference will be held in Madras during the Christmas holidays. His Excellency the Governor of Madras will open the Conference. Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, has accepted the Presidentship of the Conference.

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[1] Translated by Captain Petavel, R.E.

The Conference will last for three days. Papers offered for presentation to the Conference must reach the Secretary by the 1st November next. A brief summary of the papers indicating the salient issues should be sent along with the papers. These summaries will be published, if the paper should be accepted, for presentation to the members of the Conference for facility of discussion. The time allowed for each paper would be only fifteen minutes. Scholars interested in the work of the Conference are invited to take part and submit their papers to the undersigned before the said date.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR,
Hony. Secretary.